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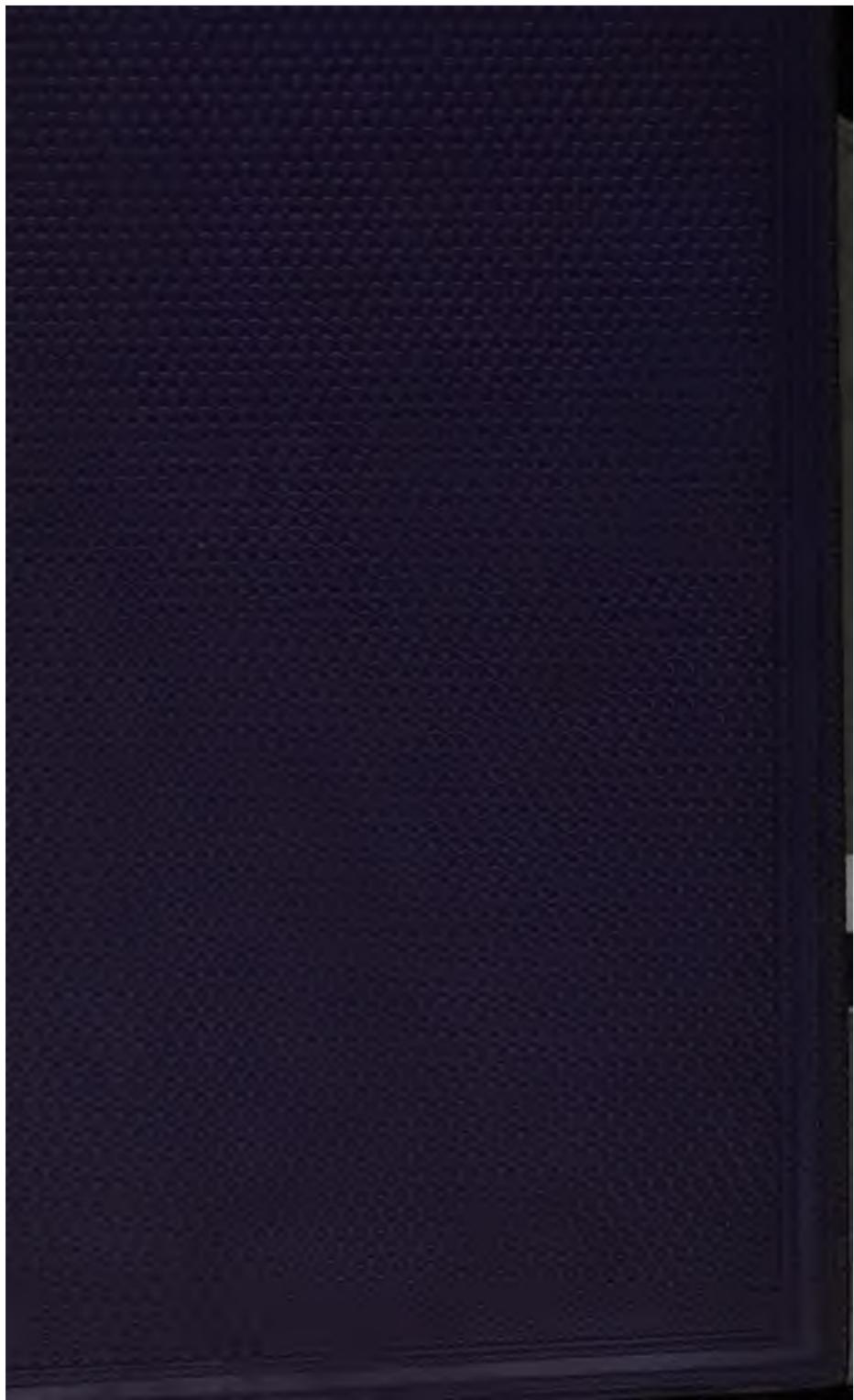
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THE NEGEB,

OR

“SOUTH COUNTRY” OF SCRIPTURE.



THE NEGEB,

OR

“SOUTH COUNTRY” OF SCRIPTURE.

BY THE REV.

EDWARD WILTON, M.A. OXON.,

INCUMBENT OF SCOTTON, NOTTS, AND CHAPLAIN TO THE EARL OF
GALLOWAY.

WITH A MAP.

MACMILLAN AND CO.

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PREFACE.

THE following pages do not contain, as might at first sight be supposed, a mere Treatise on a particular province of the wide domain of Scripture Geography.

While addressed primarily to the Biblical critic and the Hebrew student, they equally appeal to all who take an interest in that department of Christian Evidence which is founded on the minute accuracy of Holy Scripture, in its physical, topographical, and other details, often introduced in the most incidental manner.

The book consists of three Parts; the two former, however, being principally introductory to the third or main division.

The first Part treats of the Geography of the "South Country," and defines its limits by means of various statements scattered up and down the Old Testament.¹

The second Part discusses its special characteristics, chiefly physical and zoological, as they are embodied in certain passages occurring in the poetical books; together with one or two remarkable fulfilments of prophecy which are exemplified in the present aspect of the country.

The third Part is an elaborate attempt to identify the

¹ Under this head is to be included the dissertation on "Gerar and its Philistine Inhabitants" in the Appendix.

exact sites of the different cities of the “South Country,” enumerated in Josh. xv. 21—32, from the copious materials furnished by the Bible itself, the writings of Josephus and the Greek and Roman topographers, the Onomasticon of Eusebius and Jerome, the itineraries of early pilgrims, the chronicles of crusaders, and, last but not least, by the descriptions of modern travellers. In pursuance of this object, I have laid down for my guidance certain canons of identification,¹ the whole or greater number of which must be satisfied before the desired result is attained. This has never, I believe, been *systematically*² undertaken before, and constitutes the most original feature of the book.

Illustrations of Scripture are introduced throughout the entire work on every possible occasion; my great object

¹ For the satisfaction of the reader, these canons are here subjoined:

(1) The original name should be retained, either in its *essential letters*, or in its *peculiar signification*.

(2) The specifications of *distance* from, or *relation* to, other places, supplied by the Bible, Josephus, Eusebius and Jerome, &c., must be verified.

(3) Any *characteristic features* by which the locality itself was anciently signalized, must be found existing now; due allowance being made for the lapse of ages, and other modifying circumstances.

(4) Every condition required by the several passages of Scripture, &c., in which the place is mentioned, must be satisfactorily fulfilled.

(5) The *actual traces* of former habitations on the spot are strongly confirmatory, although not absolutely indispensable, for obvious reasons.

² Learned travellers have hitherto been contented either with such identifications as forced themselves, so to speak, on their notice in the principal lines of route, or with isolated cases of more than ordinary interest. But surely the success which attended the two journeys of Dr. Robinson, in such instances as Eleutheropolis and Pella, and which has crowned the exertions of others who have followed in his footsteps, may well stimulate to more vigorous and methodical endeavours to complete what the American Professor has so ably begun.

being to promote a more intelligent study of the Bible, and an increased appreciation of its wonderful literary resources.

The volume is complete in itself; but, in the event of its being successful, I propose to deal with the other portions of the Holy Land in the same manner, so as to present, if life and health be spared, a critical and exhaustive Treatise on the Physical and Historical Geography of Palestine.

In the construction of the accompanying Map, I have to acknowledge my obligations to Kiepert, Zimmermann, De Saulcy, Van de Velde, and other labourers in the field of Sacred Geography: but in many instances, extraneous help has failed me altogether, and I have been left to form my own conclusions. The present state of our knowledge, indeed, makes it impossible to attain perfect accuracy, especially with regard to the extreme south of Palestine, some portions of which must still be considered a *terra incognita*. I venture, notwithstanding, to hope that such an approximation has been effected as will render the Map (what I have intended it to be) a guide to the localities mentioned in this work, as well as an illustration of the various opinions expressed throughout its pages.

I have found it convenient to employ the Hebrew term *Negeb*,¹ partly for the sake of brevity, but chiefly

¹ It seemed better, on the whole, that this word, necessarily occurring so frequently, should be spelt *Negeb* than *Negebh* or *Negev*. For thus retaining, as more euphonious and concise, the original sound of the final letter, I have the authority of Ewald, Hurwitz, and the Spanish Jews.

because the rendering of our Authorized Version ("South" or "South Country") is an inadequate representation of the full meaning of the original. The root of the word, according to Buxtorf, Parkhurst, and Gesenius, is to be found in the Syriac and Chaldee, and signifies "to be arid;" and as this was the chief characteristic of the south of Palestine, it hence acquired its secondary meaning of "south."¹ While, therefore, in reference to the country generally, we may without much impropriety render the abstract term "Negeb" by "the South," the translation ceases to be accurate when applied in a more restricted sense; as, *e.g.*, "the Negeb of Judah," which does not signify "the South of Judah"—for it comprises, besides the south, a considerable portion of the east and west of that tribe—but so much of Judah as was included within the Negeb or Dry Country.

I will only add, that if, in these days of doubting and unrest, the little work now diffidently launched on the sea of Public Opinion shall have contributed, however humbly, to a clearer apprehension of the truthfulness and inspiration of the Word of God, I shall feel myself more than repaid for the many and toilsome hours which have been devoted to its production.

¹ See Note at p. 14.

E. W.

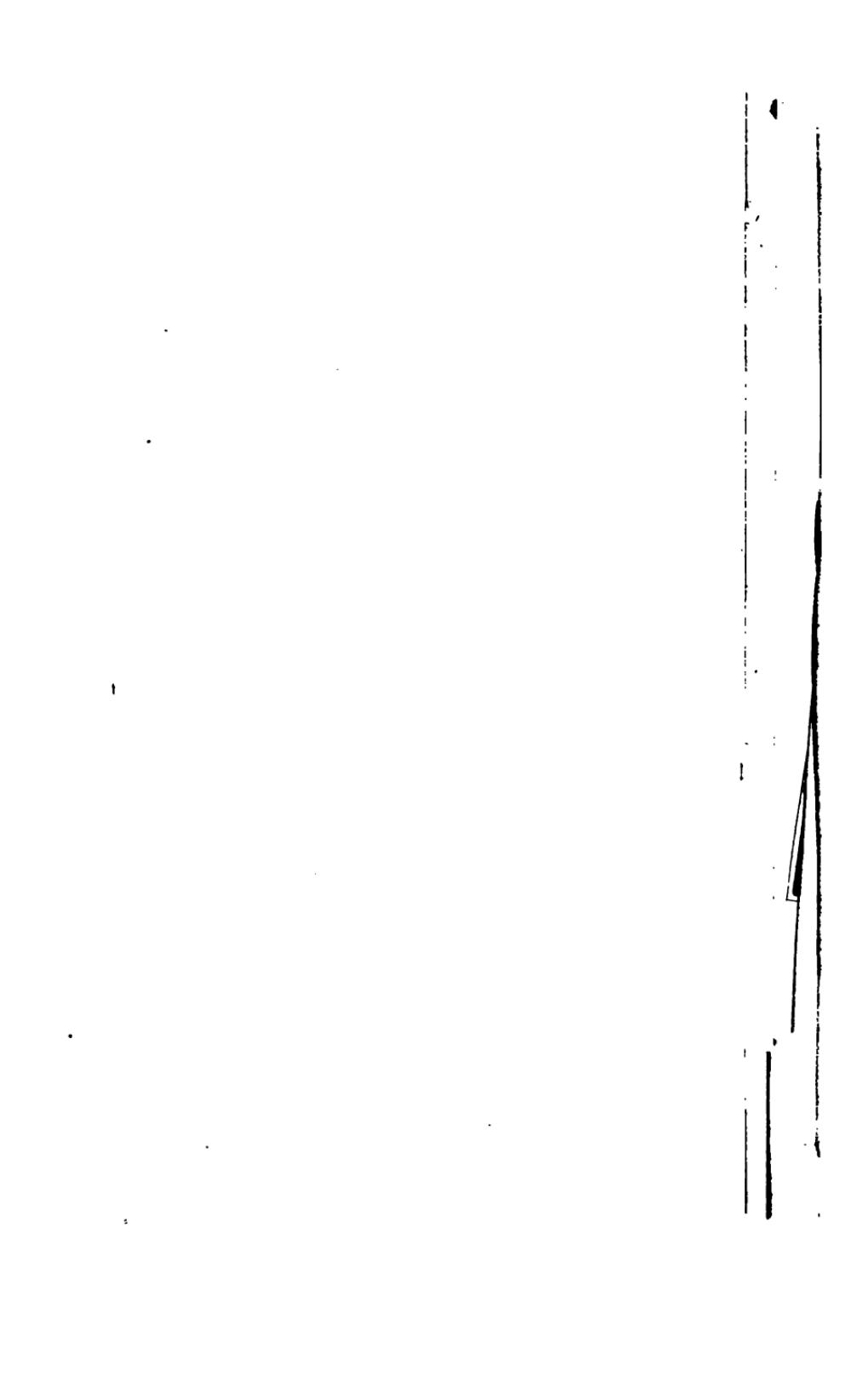
DONCASTER,
April, 1863.

PART I.

GEOGRAPHY OF THE NEGEB.







THE NEGEB, OR SOUTH COUNTRY.

GEOGRAPHY OF THE NEGEB.

IN every part of the Old Testament Scriptures,—as PART I. well the historical as the prophetic, in grave prose as in lofty poetry,—we find mention of a certain district of Palestine, variously described as “the South,” “the South Country,” and “the Land of the South.”

And yet, strange to say, very vague and contradictory opinions are held respecting it by Biblical Geographers. Many ignore its existence altogether; while among those who are compelled to admit that there was such a district, much misconception prevails with regard to its precise locality, its extent, its relation to the other great divisions of the country, and its special characteristics.

Dr. Kitto actually confounds it with the uplands of Judah; paraphrasing “the country of the hills and of the south” as “the mountainous country of Josh. x. 40. the south.”¹ Dr. Robinson thinks that the name

¹ *History of Palestine*, p. 348. Lond. 1841.

PART I. er-Râmeh (*North* of Hebron) naturally suggests
Josh. xix. “Ramah of the South,” belonging to Simeon.¹ And
 8. a recent writer in the *Journal of Sacred Literature*,—
 whose success in substantiating his startling theories
 is, I venture to think, by no means equal to his con-
 fidence in propounding them, assumes (for there is
 no proof adduced) that the Hebrew term נֶגֶב (*Negeb*)
 comprehended “the Sinaitic peninsula, and the whole
 country spreading northwards to the Mediterranean
 and the Canaanite border.”²

A careful analysis of the various passages in
 which the word occurs brings me to a conclusion
 very different from any of these; and in the hope
 of throwing some light on a question of no incon-
 siderable importance to Sacred Geography, I invite
 the reader’s candid attention to the following con-
 siderations, which are amply sufficient, I conceive, to
 enable us to form a definite opinion on the subject.

i. The word Negeb or “South” is used to de-
 scribe that tract of country through which lay the
 ordinary caravan road between central Canaan and

¹ *Later Bib. Res.* p. 280. Lond. 1856.

² *Jour. Sac. Lit.* April 1860, p. 1. Even Dr. Stanley (whose able
 and in many respects admirable work, *Sinai and Palestine*, I had not
 the advantage of seeing until this treatise was all but completed),
 while entering into elaborate details with regard to the other sub-
 divisions of the Holy Land, contents himself under this head with a
 few general remarks. “The southern frontier of Palestine (he writes)
 almost imperceptibly loses itself in the desert of Sinai. . . . (Its)
 exact limits are, of course, difficult to be determined.” (p. 159. Lond.
 1856.)

Egypt: "And Abram journeyed (from Bethel), going PART I. on still toward the South.... And went down into Egypt to sojourn there.... And Abram went up out of Egypt.... into the South.... And he went on his journeys from the South even to Bethel."¹ Gen. xii. 9. "And Israel took his journey (from Mamre) with ^{10; xiii.} 1, 3. all that he had, and came to Beersheba.... And Jacob rose up from Beersheba.... and came into Egypt." This road is now well ascertained to be Gen. xlvi. ^{1-6.} the one which passes Suez, identical with the Haj route as far as Kul'at en-Nukhl, and then proceeding in a N.E. direction to Beersheba and Hebron. It should be carefully distinguished from that which followed closely the shore of the Mediterranean, between Zoan and Gaza, and which, after the settlement of the Philistines in the Shephēlah or Lowland, was called "the way of the land of the Philistines."² Ex. xiii. 17

ii. In it was situated Beer-lahai-roi or Hagar's well ("in the way to Shur"), near which Isaac chiefly lived; "for he dwelt in the South country."¹ Accordingly, it is interesting to learn that Moilāhhi or Muweilih, recently identified as Hagar's well by Mr. Rowlands,² is, to this day, a regular station in the wilderness, at the point where several roads both

¹ Cf. Gen. xvi. 7, 14, with xxiv. 62, xxv. 11.

² Williams's *Holy City*, i. 465. Ritter's *Erdk.* xiv. 1086. Tuch in *Jour. Sac. Lit.* July 1848, p. 94. Kurtz, *Hist. of the Old Covenant*, iii. 227. Edinb. 1859.

PART I. from the east and west of the peninsula fall into the main route, leading from Suez to Bir-es-Seba'.¹

iii. It included the country of Gerar, which lay to the west and south of Beersheba, "between Kadesh Gen. xx. 1, and Shur." Even so, we find the ruins of the *city* xxi. 32—4, xxvi. 1 of Gerar (Khirbet-el-Jerar) still remaining, to the —23. west of Beersheba; and the "*valley* of Gerar" is to this day represented by the Wady el Jerâr, situated about fifty miles further south, in a line between 'Ain el Kadeis and Jebel es-Sur.² The Gen. xvi. 7, *well* or station of Shur may be looked for in the xxv. 18. direction of the Jebel es-Sur, E. of Suez; while Ex. xv. 22. the "*wilderness* of Shur" appears to have been identical with the present pasture-grounds of the Arab tribe Terâbîn, extending "from the mountains near Suez to the region of Gaza.³

iv. According to Numb. xiii. 17, 26, Kadesh must have been at or near its southern border. Here it is necessary to observe that the Authorized Version of the former of these verses involves an absurd contradiction. It represents Moses as sending the spies from Kadesh to Canaan, *i. e.* from south to north, and yet saying to them, "Get ye up this way *southward*." The original is בְּנֵגֶב *bannegeb*, and should be

¹ Dr. Robinson's *Bib. Res.* i. 281. Lond. 1841.

² See the whole question of the position, extent, and ancient inhabitants of Gerar discussed at length in the Appendix.

³ Dr. Robinson's *Bib. Res.* i. 274. Cf. Burckhardt, *Syria*, p. 481. Lond. 1822.

translated either “*into* the Negeb”¹ or “*through* the Negeb,”² and thence ascend into the Hill-country.”³ This implies that Kadesh must have lain towards the southern extremity of the Negeb; otherwise the spies could not have traversed the latter on their way to the elevated region of Canaan. And precisely such is the situation of 'Ain el Kadeis, discovered by Mr. Rowlands; which, after the learned disquisition of Prof. Tuch,⁴ and especially the elaborate and masterly demonstration of Prof. Kurtz,⁵ no unbiased mind can, I think, hesitate to identify with the Kadesh of Scripture.

v. It is described as the abode of the Amalekites at the end of the forty years' wandering. “The Amalekites dwell in the land of the south” (בְּאַרְץ הַנֶּגֶב *bēerets hannegeb*), is the report of the spies. We are not without criteria by which to determine the position of their territory. (1) In Gen. xiv. 7, we are told that Chedorlaomer and his allies, on their return from El-Paran, “came to En-mishpat, which is Kadesh, and smote all the *country* (פְּדוּשׁ *sādeh*, ‘field’ or ‘cultivated plain’) of the Amalekites, and also the Amorites that dwelt in Hazezon-tamar” (or

¹ בְּ = the Latin *in* after a verb of motion. Cf. Judg. vi. 35, where the same preposition is translated “throughout” and “unto.”

² Cf. Gen. xii. 6, Judg. xi. 16, 18—20.

³ The very same expression is more correctly rendered “*by* the south” in ver. 22 of this chapter.

⁴ See *Jour. Sac. Lit.* for July 1848, pp. 90—96.

⁵ *Hist. of the Old Cov.* iii. 217—241. Edinb. 1859.

PART I.
Cf. Josh. x.
40, 1.

Num. xiii.
29.

PART I. Engedi, 2 Chron. xx. 2). Now it is worthy of remark that the Amalekites *themselves* are not said to have been smitten, as was the case with the Amorites, Horites, and others: all that we can reasonably infer from the narrative is, that the confederate kings carried their devastations into the district which was *afterwards* occupied by them; just as Abraham is related Gen. xii. 6. to have encamped in the “*place of Sichem*” (or rather “Shechem”), *i. e.* on the *site* of the *future* city of Shechem. The Amalekites, therefore, in the time of the spies must have inhabited a comparatively fertile expanse of country, somewhere between Kadesh and Engedi; and this agrees precisely with the physical characteristics of the extensive tract, partly arable, partly pastoral, which begins a little to the north-west of 'Ain el-Kadeis, and sweeps round in a north-easterly direction, past Bir es-Seba' and Tell 'Arâd to the neighbourhood of Kurmul and 'Ain-Jidy.¹ (2) But in Numb. xiv. the Amalekites (jointly with the Canaanites) are represented, first, as dwelling in a “*valley*” (גְּמַדֵּע emek v. 25), and then on a “*mountain*” (vv. 40—45). How are these two statements to be reconciled with each other, and with that in Gen. xiv. 7, which describes them as occupying a *plain*? for such is the meaning of *sâdeh*, there rendered “*country*.” And yet, strange to say, all these accounts are perfectly correct, and

¹ Dr. Robinson's *Bib. Res.* i. 277—307; ii. 467, 474, 617, 618, 625.

all, moreover, refer to the same tract of country. PART I.
The whole difficulty is occasioned by our translators having rendered *ēmek* in Numb. xiv. 25 by "valley," whereas its proper signification is "plain"; as is evident from a careful examination of the several passages in which it is used in connection with specific localities. While *ēmek* and *sādeh* both indicate a *level* as opposed to a mountainous country, they are by no means convertible terms:—*sādeh* further implying land rich in soil, or at least capable of cultivation; and, therefore, standing to *ēmek* in the relation of species to genus. A *sādeh* may also be an *ēmek*; but an *ēmek* is not necessarily a *sādeh*. Thus, then, one obscurity is removed, and all that now needs explanation is, how the Amalekites could be said to inhabit both a mountain and a plain. This is not a difficult task. We have but to glance at a good map of Palestine in order to perceive that the northern portion of the territory under consideration (now occupied by the Arab tribes Sa'idiyeh, Dhullām, and Jehālīn,) is raised many hundred feet above the level of the sea, and consists in fact of a succession of vast terraces, which, like the steps of a gigantic staircase, gradually ascend from the 'Arabah. We can, therefore, easily understand how the sacred writer might well speak of it as a *plain*, in contradistinction to the "Hill-country of Judah" which it adjoins on the N.W.; while, to its Israel-

PART I. itish assailants, who had to toil up its southern acclivity, it would appear, as it was indeed, a mountain of no inconsiderable elevation. The three terms thus employed to designate the abode of the Amalekites are, by a curious coincidence, all combined in a single sentence of Dr. Robinson's description of the country of the *Jehâlin*: "The main encampment of the *Jehâlin* was at this time high up on the S.E. side of the *mountain*, on a small shelf or terrace of *cultivated land*, overlooking the *wide plain*."¹ It is still more interesting to find that the plateau er-Rakhmah, which (as we shall see) is more especially identified with the Amalekites, is represented to the traveller who actually crosses it, as a *Wady* (valley or plain); while another, who only sees it at a distance as he traverses the western Lowland, hears it called a *Jebel* (mountain).² (3) A third testimony is furnished in 1 Sam. xv. 6, where the Kenites are warned by king Saul to "get them *down* from among the Amalekites" lest they should share their destruction. Now we know from Judges i. 16, that the Kenites occupied the country about Arad. The natural inference, therefore, is that the Amalekites inhabited an elevated tract in the same neighbourhood; thus strikingly confirming the con-

¹ *Bib. Res.* ii. 467.

² See I. ix., III. viii. 3, xxiv. 3; and compare Williams's *Holy City*, p. 488, with Stewart's *Tent and Khan*, p. 215.

clusion to which we have already been brought by PART I.
a different process.

vi. It comprehended the district adjacent to Arad. Num. xxi.
And here, again, it is necessary to correct our Author- ^{1,} xxxiii.
ized Version, which should read thus: "And the ^{40.}
Canaanite king of Arad, who dwelt in the south"
(Negeb). The second of these passages expresses
more fully what is here meant by "the south," and
is an exact rendering of the original: "who dwelt
in the south, *in the land of Canaan.*" It is worthy
of notice that the word "south" is not used here
as an ordinary geographical term; as though it
were merely "in the south *of* the land of Canaan:"
but we are distinctly told that the territory of the
king of Arad was situated in a certain district of
Canaan called specifically the Negeb or "south
country." We are at no loss as to the exact posi-
tion of this spot, the name being still extant in
the ruined site called Tell 'Arâd.¹ I have already
had occasion to remark that this part of the Negeb
was assigned to the Kenites (or descendants of
Jethro), who are described as settling "in the south
of Arad,"—literally "in the Negeb of Arad," viz. in
that part of the Negeb which adjoined Arad. Judg. i. 16.

vii. The king of Arad appears to have had an

¹ Robinson's *Bib. Res.* ii. 473. Van de Velde found there "some
fragments of very ancient pottery . . . and a large well or reservoir,
the sides of which had long ago fallen in."—*Syria and Palestine*, ii.
83, 84. Edinb. 1854.

PART I. ally or tributary in the king of Zephath or Hormah ;
Num. xxi. for it was here that his defeat took place ; and the
 3. two kings are mentioned together in the list of Ca-
Josh. xii. naanite chiefs conquered by Joshua. That Hormah
 14. was also in the Negeb, is evident from two consider-
 ations :—(1) It is one of the places enumerated in
 Josh. xv. 21—32 as “the uttermost cities of the
 tribe of the children of Judah toward the coast of
 Edom *southward*,”—literally “in the Negeb,” (בְּנֶגֶב
 ἐπὶ τῆς ἐρήμου, Sept.) (2) In Judg. i. 9, we read of
 three several expeditions of Judah against the Ca-
 naanites ; viz. those dwelling “in the Hill-country,
 and in the Negeb, and in the Lowland.” Now this
 order is carefully observed in the subsequent nar-
 rative. First, we have an account of the conquest of
 Hebron and Debir, both situated on the mountains
 (vv. 10—15); then, of the settlement of the Kenites
 near Arad, and the joint attack of Judah and Simeon
 on Zephath or Hormah (vv. 16, 17); and finally,
 Judah’s conquest of Gaza, Askelon, and Ekron (v. 18).
 These last, we know, were in the Shephelah, or
 Lowland ; it follows, therefore, that Zephath, as well
 as Arad, belonged to the Negeb, which was men-
 tioned second in the order of operations. Its site
 has been identified with es-*Sebâta* in Wady er-Ru-
 heibeh by Rowlands, Tuch, Kurtz, and others.¹

viii. Part of the Negeb was included in the in-

¹ See III. xxiii.

inheritance of Caleb; for the Amalekites are said to PART I.
have invaded the "Negeb of Caleb." We are for- ^{1 Sam.}
tunate in having very clear indications of the exact ^{xxx. 14.}
position of this portion of the "South country."¹

We find Caleb's descendant, Nabal, living at Maon,
and having his possessions at Carmel. Now Maon ^{1 Sam.}
and Carmel were themselves in the Hill-country; ^{xxv. 2, 3.}
but the "wilderness of Maon," where Nabal's flocks
pastured,² was in the most northerly portion of the
Negeb, and corresponds, for the most part, to the
territory of the Jehâlin, who are "sometimes called
the Hebron Arabs."³ To show the essential re-
semblance of this district to the other parts of the
Negeb, we may again quote the trustworthy evidence
of Dr. Robinson. On descending the hills S.E. of
Maon, "a wide prospect (he says) soon opened before
us over the country towards the Dead Sea and on
the south..... The extensive tract we now over-
looked had much of the general character of that
around Beersheba; with which indeed it is connected,
stretching off in that direction around the south-
western termination of the long ridge which we were
now crossing. This tract has apparently a lower
level than the enclosed plain behind us around
Carmel..... This is the country of the Jehâlin,

¹ Cf. 1 Sam. xxiii. 24, 25; xxv. 21.

² Wilson's *Lands of the Bible*, ii. 710. Edinb. 1847. Cf. Robin-
son's *Bib. Res.* i. 275.

PART I. who were now gathering in their scanty wheat harvest. The tract belonged anciently to the south of Judah, lying beyond the mountainous district of that tribe, and extending so as to comprise Beersheba and Kadesh."¹ A little to the N.E. of this spot, he writes: "We recognised among the shrubs many old acquaintances of the southern desert, the 'Ajram, the Retem, and several others; and found ourselves thus in an hour transported back to the scenes of our former journey."² One thing which struck this traveller's attention was the aridity of the country as he advanced further into it. "Our descent (he states) was constant; and in proportion to it, the heat increased, and the country began to assume more the appearance of the desert. We had left the grass green at Carmel (at 7.10); by nine o'clock it was dried up.... by 11 o'clock we were completely in the midst of the desert."³ This serves to explain an interesting incident in the history of Caleb. That great and good man gave his daughter Achsah in marriage to Othniel, as the reward of his conquest of Debir, and bestowed as her dowry that portion of the

Josh. xv.
16—19.

¹ *Bib. Res.* ii. 466, 7.

² *Ib.* ii. 202.

³ Nothing could more strikingly illustrate the two meanings of *Negeb*, and the connection of thought between them:—(i) A *dry* land; and, as that which has a southern aspect is especially dry,—hence (ii) A *south* land. It was of this very region that David spoke, from his own painful experience, when he said, "My soul thirsteth for thee, my flesh longeth for thee, *in a dry and thirsty land, where no water is.*" (*Ps. lxiii. 1.*)

Negeb which had been assigned to himself. She, PART I. knowing its deficiency in the all-important requisite of water, "moved him (Othniel) to ask of her father a field," or rather (as several MSS. here read, and as the text of the parallel passage actually has it) "*the field.*" What, then, was this "field" or "cultivated plain," *par excellence*, for which Achsah longed? An answer is supplied to this question by an incidental remark which occurs in the enumeration of Levitical cities. Hebron was one of these cities: "but (adds the sacred writer) the fields (literally, '*the field*') of the city, and the villages (pastoral enclosures) thereof, gave they to Caleb the son of Jephunneh for his possession." It is not difficult to recognise in this description the "extensive basin ^{Josh. xxi.} or plain, having many villages and ancient sites,"¹ ^{11, 12.} lying between Hebron and Carmel, of which Dr. Robinson speaks as "the finest we had yet seen *in the hill-country* of Judah. The great plain or basin spread itself out on our right (he is travelling from Hebron to Carmel), shut in on every side by higher land or hills, *except upon the east, where it slopes off towards the Dead Sea....* At present (May 10), the whole tract was almost covered with fine fields of wheat, *belonging to persons in Hebron.*"² Such, I cannot doubt, was "*the field*" for which Achsah urged Othniel to ask; and on his hesitating to solicit

¹ *Bib. Res.* ii. 189.

² *Ib.* 191, 192.

PART I. so great a favour, she herself preferred the request in these words: "Give me a blessing; for thou hast given me the south land" (ארץ הנגב *erets hannegeb*);—i. e. the particular portion of Negeb territory allotted to Caleb;—“give me also springs of water. And he gave her the upper and the nether springs.” The word here translated “springs” (גּוֹלֹת *gullôth*) occurs only in the two narratives of this transaction; but the cognate form גּל *gal*, also rendered “spring,” is found in Cant. iv. 12, and throws much light on its meaning: “A garden inclosed is my sister, my spouse; a *spring* shut up, a fountain sealed.” Keeping this passage in view, so suggestive alike of seclusion and security, and bearing in mind the radical meaning of both Hebrew words,—denoting what is circular either in form or motion (Parkhurst),—let us now turn to Dr. Robinson’s account of Kurmul, (the ancient Carmel of Judah), which lies near the point where the fruitful plain¹ of Hebron slopes down eastwardly to the less favoured Negeb: “The ruins of the town lie around the head and along the two sides of a valley of some width and depth; the head of which forms a *semi-circular amphitheatre, shut in* by rocks The bottom of the amphitheatre is a beautiful grass-plat, with an artificial reservoir in the middle, measuring

¹ Carmel doubtless derives its name from its immediate connection with this plain; the word signifying “a fruitful field,” “a finely cultivated country.”—*Gesenius.*

117 feet long by 74 feet broad. The *spring* from which it is supplied is in the rocks on the N.W.; where a chamber has been excavated. The water is brought out by an underground channel, first to a small *basin* near the rocks, and then five or six rods further to the reservoir."¹ It is only necessary to add the important facts, that "*there is no living water within the territory of the Jehālīn except at Kurmul,*" and that "*when the cisterns become exhausted later in summer, they have no resource but to remove their flocks and other animals to the vicinity of Kurmul, where they water in common with the Ka'ābīneh,*"²—in order to complete the chain of evidence which goes to prove that this rich plain, thus described as belonging, strictly speaking, to the Hill-country, and yet as being really connected with the Negeb towards the east, is the very "field" desired by Achsah; and that the fountain of Kurmul, with its "excavated chamber" and "basin" high up among the rocks, and its capacious "reservoir" in the

¹ *Bib. Res.* ii. 197.

² *Ib.* ii. 468. With what additional interest do we read the vivid picture of the consequences of drought in Amos iv. 7, 8, when we remember that the prophet was himself an inhabitant of this very district, which, from its want of springs, was so entirely dependent on the rainy season; and how remarkably do the Arabs of to-day attest the accuracy of these words of the inspired seer, uttered twenty-six centuries ago: "*So two or three cities wandered unto one city, to drink water; but they were not satisfied.*" See also viii. 11, where, unlike the other prophets, he specifies "*a thirst for water*" as one of the terrible accompaniments of "*a famine in the land.*"

PART I. grassy “amphitheatre” below, is identical with those “upper and nether springs” which so richly supplemented the dowry of Othniel’s bride.

ix. Another portion was called the “Negeb of the Jerahmeelites.” We learn from 1 Chron. ii. 9, 25, that Jerahmeel was the eldest son of Hezron (grandson of Judah); the other two sons being Ram or Aram, and Chelubai or Caleb. The latter, as we have seen, settled near Hebron. With Ram, from whom sprang the royal family of David and the line of the Messiah, we have no immediate concern, as his descendants established themselves in the Hill-country, at Bethlehem. Jerahmeel gave his name to the district whose limits we have now to ascertain. In the only passage where it is mentioned, it occurs along with the Kenites. Hence we may infer that the two districts were contiguous; and as the imaginary expedition against the Negeb of Judah, with which David satisfied the inquiries of his protector Achish, must be supposed to have taken place from the south-west,—that being the only direction from which a Philistine invasion was practicable,—we may reasonably conclude that the portion belonging to the Jerahmeelites, which is mentioned first, lay principally to the S.W. of the Kenite district. It will be seen that this inference is borne out by the facts of the case. Williams and Rowlands, in a journey undertaken for the express purpose of determining

1 Sam. xxvii. 10.

the southern boundary of Palestine, after travelling to the S.W. of 'Ar'ār'ah over a hitherto unexplored tract of country, found themselves at length on an extensive plateau, whence they looked down upon a broad plain, called Wady Murreh, running from west to east, and completely separating Palestine proper from the mountainous region of the 'Azâzimeh. The name of this elevated plateau, which thus forms the southern rampart of the Holy Land, is Wady Rakhmah, so called, doubtless, from the well, 'Ain Rakhmah, discovered by the same travellers.¹ Now this latter is evidently identical with Rukhama, an ancient site of which Dr. Robinson heard, as "lying S.W. of Milh on the way to 'Abdeh,"² and has an undoubted affinity, in its principal letters, with Jerahmeel; the only two changes being very usual ones, viz., the omission of the initial *yod*,³ and of the intensive **ה**.⁴ But we have a further trace of the name, still less abbreviated, in the Wady er-Rāmāil, "a basin formed by some green hills," about two hours E.S.E. of Tell 'Arâd.⁵ As the Negeb of Caleb extends nearly to this point, we may perhaps regard the

¹ Williams's *Holy City*, p. 488. Kurtz, *Hist. of Old Cov.* iii. 224—6.

² *Bib. Res.* ii. 621. Arabic Index, 227; cf. Pt. III. Sect. 20.

³ As in Jericho (Rîha), Jokneam (Kaimôn), Jazer (Hâzîr).

⁴ As in Elealeh (el-'Al), Migdalel (Mejdel), El-tolad (Tolad).

Jezreel presents an exact analogy, having dropped, in its modern name, both the initial *yod* and the final *el*.

⁵ Van de Velde, ii. 84, 85. Cf. De Sauley, i. 540—2. Lond. 1853.

PART I. Wady el Hafaf, which begins a little S. of Maon, and, after passing el Kuryetein and Ehdeib, sweeps round to the Dead Sea, as forming a natural boundary between the two portions; and if so, el Kuryetein, which is doubtless the Kerioth-Hezron of Josh. xv. 25,¹ is appropriately situated, as a common starting-point, on the line of demarcation between the districts called after Hezron's two sons.

x. It not only comprehended the district around Beersheba, but extended northwards as far as Rimmon. This latter I believe to be identical with the Ain or rather En-Rimmon of Josh. xv. 32, xix. 7; 1 Chron. iv. 32; Neh. xi. 29; and to be represented by the modern Um er-Rumâmin, a site near el-Khuweilifeh.² The position of En-Rimmon at the *end*, as of Kabzeel at the *beginning*, of the catalogue of cities of the Negeb in Josh. xv. 21—32, points them out as *border* cities; and as Kabzeel is clearly connected with that part of the Negeb which was adjacent to Edom and Moab,³ *i. e.* the S.E., we naturally infer that En-Rimmon was situated at or near the opposite or N.W. frontier, where it joined the Shephelah. This view is remarkably corroborated by the physical aspect as well as the modern subdivisions of the country; for we find, at this very latitude, the boundary line which separates the Ter-

¹ See III. xi. ² *Bib. Res.* iii. 8, n. See Pt. III. Sect. xxix.

³ Cf. Josh. xv. 21 with 2 Sam. xxiii. 20.

ābīn and Tiyāhah territories on the south from the PART I. Henādy Arabs and the Hill-country on the north.¹

xi. The Negeb invariably occurs in enumerations of the several natural divisions of Palestine, as a clearly-defined and well-known district.²

xii. While thus ranked among the great divisions of the country, it was itself subdivided into three districts: (1) The "Negeb of the Cherethites" or Philistines;³ so called, doubtless, from their having formerly inhabited it, in the days of Abraham and Isaac, before their migration to the sea-coast. This district, which corresponds to the ancient kingdom of Gerar, and never formed part of Canaan proper, is now occupied by the Tiyāhah Arabs.⁴

(2) The smallest of the three districts was known as the "Negeb of the Kenites,"⁵ and comprised the region immediately adjacent to Arad. It now answers to the country of the Dhullām Arabs, including the southern extremity of the Jehālīn territory.

(3) The largest portion, however, was called the "Negeb of Judah,"⁶ as having been allotted, in the

¹ *Bib. Res.* i. 274, 307; ii. 389—391. Cf. Map.

² Num. xiii. 29; Deut. i. 7, xxxiv. 1—3; Josh. x. 40, xi. 16, xii. 8, xv. 21, 33, 48, 61; Judg. i. 9; Jer. xvii. 26, xxxii. 44, xxxiii. 13; Zech. vii. 7.

³ 1 Sam. xxx. 1, 14, 16. Cf. Ezek. xxv. 16, Zeph. ii. 5.

⁴ See the Article on "Gerar and its Philistine Inhabitants," in the Appendix.

⁵ 1 Sam. xxvii. 10. Cf. Judg. i. 16; 1 Sam. xv. 6, xxx. 29.

⁶ 2 Sam. xxiv. 7; 2 Chron. xxviii. 18.

PART I. first instance, to that tribe,¹ although several of its cities were afterwards assigned to Simeon.² This extensive district had also its local subdivisions. Thus we read of (a) the "Negeb of Caleb"³ corresponding to the country of the *Jehâlîn* and *Ka'âbîn* Arabs; and (b) the "Negeb of the Jerahmeelites,"⁴ answering to that of the *Sa'idiyeh*, and extending south-westwards until it meets the Negeb of the Cherethites, near *Wady er-Ruheibeh*.

xiii. The conclusion, therefore, to which we are brought by this analysis is, that the Negeb comprised a considerable but irregularly shaped tract of country; its main portion stretching from the mountains and lowland of Judah on the north to the mountains of the *'Azâzîmeh* on the south, and from the Dead Sea and southern *Ghôr* on the east to the Mediterranean on the west. It had, however, a further extension, north-eastwardly, to lat. $31^{\circ} 35'$ or $40'$, and south-westwardly, to about lat. $30^{\circ} 15'$, where it met the desert *et-Tîh*; thus occupying a middle position, both topographically and physically, between the rich soil of central Canaan Deut. viii. 15. and the sandy wastes of "that great and terrible wilderness."

¹ Josh. xv. 1—4, 21—32.

² Josh. xix. 1—9.

³ 1 Sam. xxx. 14. Cf. Josh. xv. 19.

⁴ 1 Sam. xxvii. 10. Cf. xxx. 29.

PART II.

CHARACTERISTICS OF THE NEGEB.

CHARACTERISTICS OF THE NEGEB.

AMPLE as are the materials furnished by Scripture PART II. for determining the geography of the Negeb, there are certain incidental allusions to its physical and other characteristics which yet further elucidate the subject.

i. "The turning of our captivity, O Lord, is (as Ps. cxvi. 4 grateful and unexpected) as torrents in the Negeb."

So I would render this verse, with Durrell¹ and Taylor;² it being absurd to represent the Psalmist as praying for an object which the first verse declares to have been already accomplished.

The original word here translated "torrents" (אֲפִיקִים *āphikîm*) is especially used in reference to the deep and rocky ravines communicating with the Ghôr, the Dead Sea, and the 'Arabah, and forming the beds of streams which are much swollen during the rainy season or after a thunderstorm. Thus Job compares treacherous inconstancy to "a torrent (*āphîk*) of brooks" Job vi. 15.

¹ Cited by Bishop Horne *in loco.*

² Heb. Concord. *sub voce בָּנְגָבָנָה.*

PART II. which "pass away."¹ These ravines increase both in number and depression the further we descend the valley of the Jordan, and attain a prodigious depth in the region of the Dead Sea. I cannot better illustrate the full import of the word *aphik* than by quoting part of Lieut. Lynch's account of a thunder-storm which burst upon him as he was proceeding (May 2) from the Dead Sea up Wady Kerak. "On one side was a deep and yawning chasm, which made the head dizzy to look into; on the other, beetling crags, blackened by the tempests of ages. In most places the naked rock dipped down abruptly into the deep and gloomy chasm, and it only required a torrent to come tumbling headlong over the rude fragments fallen from the cliffs above, to complete the sublimity of the scene: nor was it wanting. When we first started, it was so cloudy that we congratulated ourselves upon the prospect of a cool and pleasant instead of a sultry ride. Before we had half ascended the pass, however, there came a shout of thunder from the dense cloud which had gathered at the summit of the gorge, followed by a rain, compared to which, the gentle showers of our more favoured clime are as dew-drops to the over-

¹ The primary meaning of the root נָבַק is "to hold in by force," as a mountain torrent which is compelled to keep within its banks from their great height: hence, metaphorically, "to restrain oneself," "to do violence to one's feelings;" spoken of Joseph (Gen. xlili. 31, xlv. 1), and of king Saul (1 Sam. xiii. 12).

flowing cistern. The black and threatening cloud soon enveloped the mountain-tops, the lightning playing across it in incessant flashes, while the loud thunder reverberated from side to side of the appalling chasm. Between the peals we soon heard a roaring and continuous sound. It was the torrent from the rain-cloud, sweeping in a long line of foam down the steep declivity, bearing along huge fragments of rocks, which, striking against each other, sounded like mimic thunder. The general impression that there is a perpetual stream down the Wady Kerak is an erroneous one. The Kerakiyeh tell us that it has only water in the rainy season, and for a short period, at other times, after storms like the one which had just passed over.¹ Ravines such as this are spoken of as characteristic of Judah, and more particularly of that part of it called the Negeb. The language of Joel is very significant: "All the Joel iii. 18. *ăphikîm* of Judah shall flow (ילכו) with waters." They shall no longer be mere torrents, the creation of winter rains or some sudden storm,—as transient in their duration as they are headlong and destructive in their course: but they shall flow majestically along,² with deep and regular current, sustaining life and spreading fertility on every side. Thus Joel iii. 18

¹ *Expedition to the Jordan and Dead Sea*, pp. 352—354. Lond. 1850.

² Such is the meaning of לָל with its cognate להלָל. They never imply rapid motion, but that which is steadily progressive; as the walking of a man, the sailing of a ship, the growth of a tree.

PART II. is the antithesis of Job vi. 15. The same event is predicted by the prophet Zechariah: "And it shall

8.

come to pass in that day that *living* waters shall go out from Jerusalem; half of them toward the

Cf. Ezek. former (*i. e.* eastern) sea, and half of them toward the
xlvii. 1—12. hinder (*i. e.* western) sea: *in summer and in winter*

shall it be." This is strikingly illustrated by the fact that Jerusalem is situated on the watershed of southern Palestine; its streams flowing eastwards, through the Wady en-När or Kedron, into the Dead Sea,¹ and westwards, through the Wadys el Werd and Ahmed, into the Mediterranean.²

It is interesting to trace the peculiar force of the Hebrew *aphik* in the cognate Fik, Fikeh, and Afka of the Arabic nomenclature of modern Syria and Palestine. Wady Fik is the name of a "deep ravine" which Dr. Robinson describes as "breaking down through to the lake" of Tiberias.³ It is watered by a rivulet which "has three sources issuing from a precipice," and empties itself into the lake.⁴ Fikeh is a village N. of Baalbek, situated at the bottom of a "very deep narrow chasm," watered by a tributary of the Orontes.⁵ Afka is a village W. of Baalbek, standing "on the brink of a chasm" down which comes a stream (a tributary of Nahr Ibrahim) issuing from a cavern in the wall of rock.⁶

¹ *Bib. Res.* i. 402; ii. 249, 250.

² *Ib.* i. 324.

³ *Ib.* iii. 262.

⁴ Burckhardt, *Syria*, p. 279.

⁵ *Later Bib. Res.* p. 534. Lond. 1856.

⁶ *Ib.* pp. 604—608.

It will be seen that each of these places possesses the PART II. several features I have indicated as constituting the full import of *ăphîk*; viz., a mountain gorge, forming the deep bed of a torrent, and communicating with the remarkable crevice or depression in the earth's surface which commences with the valley of the Orontes and terminates with the 'Arabah.

Having illustrated the meaning of *ăphîkîm* by a reference to places actually so called, let us test the accuracy of the prophet Joel's application of the word by briefly noticing the terms employed by travellers to describe the Wadys of eastern and southern Judah. Beginning from the north, we find the Wady en-Nâr or Kedron spoken of as "a deep and almost impassable ravine a deep narrow channel between perpendicular walls of rock, as if worn away by the rushing waters. There was however no water in it now (May 12); nor had there apparently been any for a long time."¹ Then comes the Wady el-Ghuweir, "which breaks down through the cliffs to the shore . . . deep, rugged, and difficult to be crossed."² Next is the Wady Derejeh,

¹ *Bib. Res.* ii. 249, 250. Compare Lieut. Lynch's description: "a gorge or fissure between lofty mountains. . . . the dry torrent bed, interrupted by boulders, and covered with fragments of stone down which, in the rainy season, the Kedron precipitates its swollen flood into the sea below." (pp. 384, 387, 396.) We can now appreciate the accuracy with which St. John speaks of the Kedron as a *χείμαρρος* (xviii. 1).

² *Ib.* p. 249.

PART II. "a narrow gulf, a hundred feet deep or more, with rugged perpendicular rocky banks. . . . The bed of the valley merely affords a passage for the wintry torrent."¹ Below this is Wady Sudeir, at first "only the shallow bed of a small torrent; although as it breaks down through the cliffs to the sea it becomes a deep and frightful gulf."² This is a little north of Engedi; on the other side of which is the Wady Ghâr or 'Areijeh, "just wide enough to be the bed of a torrent, sometimes scarcely fifty feet, between perpendicular precipices rising sometimes hundreds of feet on each side."³ Further south, Wady Seiyâl is described as "a magnificent chasm;"⁴ Wady el Hafâf as a "precipitous ravine;"⁵ and Wady Sinein as "deep and precipitous."⁶ The list is by no means complete: but enough has been adduced to shew the character of the country adjacent to the Dead Sea, which Wolcott briefly but significantly designates as "a rugged, rocky strip, cut through by deep Wadys;"⁷ while the declivity which forms the proper southern boundary of Judah is "composed of naked strata of limestone occasionally cut through by short but deep chasms. . . . We could distinguish (says Dr. Robinson, when

¹ *Bib. Res.* p. 244. Cf. De Saulcy, i. 177, 178.

² *Ib.* ii. 242.

³ *Ib.* p. 204.

⁴ Wolcott, in *Biblical Cabinet*, xlivi. 307. Edinb. 1843.

⁵ De Saulcy, i. 244.

⁶ Wolcott, p. 308.

⁷ *Ib.* xlivi. 308.

ascending the Sufah pass,) deep ravines on each side PART II. of us, with precipitous mountains beyond, seemingly rent to their base. The road for some distance lay along a narrow causeway of rock between two such ravines, hardly wide enough for a dozen men to walk abreast, with a deep precipice on each side."¹

In Ps. xlvi. 1, these *aphîkîm* are said to be the resort of the parched deer (*אֵיל אַיָּאֵל*). In exact accordance with this, we learn from one traveller, that "deer abound" in the ravines of Mount Lebanon, at a spot N.W. of Baalbek, between the above-mentioned Fikeh and Afka;² from another, that two were seen S. of the Dead Sea, which the Arabs tried in vain to run down;³ and from a third, that one, called by the Arabs *Igial* or *Ajal*, was met with in the desert E. of the Dead Sea, which, as we have seen from Lynch's description of Wady Kerak, is similar in its physical features to that on the west.⁴ I may add that the gazelle also is constantly found resorting to these rocky ravines, in quest, doubtless, of the pools of rain-water left here and there by the winter torrents.⁵ It was probably in this direction that Esau went from Beersheba on his expedition "to hunt for venison."⁶

¹ *Bib. Res.* ii. 590—592.

² Monro, *Summer Ramble in Syria*, ii. p. 99. Lond. 1835.

³ Churton, *Land of the Morning*, p. 127.

⁴ Col. H. Smith in Kitto's *Cycl. of Bib. Lit.*, *sub voce* Ail.

⁵ *Bib. Res.* ii. 203. Ld. Lindsay, ii. 64. Lond. 1839.

⁶ Gen. xxvii. 3—5. That it was some distance, is evident from ver. 20.

PART II. According to Cant. v. 12, *doves* frequented these ravines: "His eyes are as doves by the *ăphîkîm* of waters." This is further explained in ii. 14, by language strikingly applicable to the ravines of the Dead Sea: "O my dove, that art in the clefts (precipitous cliffs or refuges) of the rocks, in the secret (or hiding) places of the stairs (mountain passes)." Dr. Robinson's description of Wady Ghâr or 'Areijeh, near Engedi, has already been quoted as exactly defining the term *ăphîk*; but it may again be brought under contribution to illustrate our present topic: "In the cliffs above, multitudes of pigeons were enjoying their nests undisturbed."¹ On another occasion, as the same traveller stood on the heights above 'Ain Terâbeh, near the mouth of Wady Derejeh, "pigeons were shooting in rapid flight over the surface of the sea."² Lieut. Lynch, too, speaks of seeing "some doves" when encamped at Engedi; while bathing in Wady Humeir, or rather Nemeirah (another *ăphîk* of the Dead Sea), he "saw a dove in the ravine;" and in that same Wady (Kerak) where he en-

¹ *Bib. Res.* ii. 204. Can we doubt that David had this scene in his mind's eye,—so familiar to him when he "dwelt in strongholds at Engedi" (1 Sam. xxiii. 29),—as he uttered that pathetic aspiration, "Oh that I had wings like a dove! for then would I fly away, and be at rest. Lo, then would I wander far off, and remain in the wilderness. I would hasten my escape from the windy storm and tempest." (Ps. lv. 6—8.)

² *Ib.* ii. p. 245.

countered the thunderstorm, he “saw many PART II. doves.”¹

But modern travel furnishes yet another unconscious illustration of Solomon’s phraseology. Passing onwards from Wady Ghâr, Dr. Robinson came shortly to the brow of the cliffs at Engedi; “and then (he says) we began to work our way down the terrific pass. This was no easy labour. The path descends by zig-zags, often at the steepest angle practicable for horses, and is carried partly along ledges or shelves on the perpendicular face of the cliff, and then down the almost equally steep débris. . . . Looking back upon this part from below, it seemed utterly impossible that any road could exist there; yet, by a skilful application of zig-zags, the path is actually carried down without any insuperable difficulties; so that even loaded camels often pass up and down.”² Nor is this all: he tells us in another place that the descent to ’Ain Terâbeh from the Wady Derejeh is by “a pass similar to that of ’Ain Jidy.”³ In this he is confirmed by M. De Saulcy, who graphically relates how “by a zigzag path” he ascended “a very steep ravine, which contracts to a breadth of five or six yards, enclosed between two precipices.”⁴ When it is added that *Derejeh* (in its Hebrew form) is the identical word here employed by Solomon, and

¹ *Exped. to the Dead Sea*, pp. 294, 317, 355.

² *Bib. Res.* ii. p. 208.

³ *Ib.* ii. p. 245.

⁴ *Travels*, i. p. 175.

PART II. rendered “stairs,”¹ enough, assuredly, has been said to demonstrate how wonderfully “every jot and tittle” of the inspired Word of God does but come forth with fresh significance, the more minutely it is subjected to critical investigation.

Such are the “aphikim of the south.” We are not surprised, therefore, to find Amos, who may with propriety be called the Prophet of the Negeb, figuratively employing this feature of his native district: “But let judgment run down (literally, be rolled over and over) as waters, and righteousness as a mighty stream.”²

Amos vi.
14.

I may here observe that Amos is the only sacred writer who mentions that remarkable valley, the Wady el-Jeib; which he defines as the southern limit of Palestine, in opposition to “the entering in of Hamath,” its northern extremity. Dr. Robinson, who was the first to make it known to Geographers, describes it as “the great water-course (during the rainy season) of all the valley or plain of the 'Arabah, a wady within a wady;” whose “banks are so entirely perpendicular that it would be next to impossible to ascend out of the valley on either side;” and which “bears traces of an immense volume of

¹ This name also occurs in connection with the very difficult pass of the Wady el-Ahsy, S.E. of the Dead Sea.—Burckhardt, *Syria*, p. 400.

² Amos v. 24. The two last words (נַחַל אִירַן) import (1) the rugged bed of a brook or winter-torrent,—being the same as those which are rendered in Deut. xxi. 4, “a rough valley;” and (2) the torrent itself, rolling impetuously along its rocky channel.

water, rushing along with violence and covering the PART II.
whole breadth of the valley.¹ Had his account stopped here, we should have expected this Wady, with its perpendicular banks and rushing winter-torrent, to be designated as an *Aphîk*. But when we learn further that it is “not far from half-a-mile broad;” that its “bed is very level;” that its banks consist of “chalky earth or marl;” and that it “has thus worn for itself in the course of ages a huge channel, through the upper plain and the offset of cliffs (Acrabbim), to the level of the Ghôr below,”—so that its depression is doubtless much greater than in the time of Amos;—we cannot but be struck with the minute accuracy of the prophet in speaking of it as the “*nachal* of the 'Arabah.” Nachal and *Aphîk* equally denote the bed of a winter-torrent: but the latter word, as we have seen, essentially includes the further ideas of ruggedness, depth, and contractedness; with that nicety of discrimination, therefore, which invariably marks the inspired writings, the generic term *nachal* is here employed, as more appropriate to the conditions of the case. It is to be regretted that our Version so vaguely renders this passage “the river of the wilderness.” A reference to the Hebrew alone prevents our confounding this stream with the “river (*nachal*) of Egypt” (the Wady el-'Arish), which is so often mentioned as the

¹ *Bib. Res.* ii. 497—501.

PART II. southern boundary of Palestine. Both may with equal truth be so denominated: the one, with regard to Egypt, westwards; the other, in respect of Idumæa, to the east. A glance at the map will explain this twofold specification. The Holy Land, from its physical configuration, was not accessible from a point directly south; hence, all the routes are seen to approach it either from the S.E. or the S.W. Now, if we consider the constant intercourse which prevailed between Egypt and Palestine, we see at once how naturally a majority of the sacred writers would mention the “river of Egypt” as the limit of their country southwards. But it is equally natural that one particular writer, whose early years were spent in the pasture-grounds of eastern Judah, should rather name as such the “river of the 'Arabah:” not only because he was most familiar with it, but also because it is the exact antithesis to “the entering in of Hamath;”—the one being the southern, as the other is the northern, extremity of that unique depression in the earth's surface (already referred to), which constitutes the bed of the rivers Orontes, Leontes, and Jordan.

Isa. xxi. 1. ii. “As whirlwinds (סְׁנָפָרָה) in the Negeb pass through; it cometh from the desert, from a terrible land.”

A comparison of the several passages in which *sûphâh*, here rendered “whirlwind,” occurs, leads

to the inference that the sacred writer alludes to a PART II. destructive,¹ rapid,² and scorching³ wind, blowing from the south,⁴ and occasioning an unnatural gloom.⁵ The verb rendered “passeth through” will also assist us in determining the particular wind here referred to. The original imports violence and rapidity: and is used of the driving in of a nail, the shooting of an arrow, and the stabbing of a victim with the sacrificial knife; also of the flitting past of a spirit, and the irresistible advance of an inundation.

These several particulars will be seen to correspond exactly to the phenomena which characterize the Simoom or Sirocco; and it is interesting to learn that it is precisely in connection with this part of Palestine that travellers have recorded their experience of this visitation. The Scottish Mission to the Jews encountered the Sirocco a little S. of Gaza;⁶ and Van de Velde, to the N. of the same place.⁷ What is yet more to the point, the latter traveller speaks of its “debilitating influence” upon him while sojourning in the *Jehâlîn* camp in Wady Ramâil.⁸ Dr. Robinson, when approaching Wady er-Ruheibeh (April 11),

¹ Ps. lxxxiii. 15; Prov. i. 27.

² Job xxi. 18; Isa. v. 28, xvii. 13.

³ Isa. lxvi. 15; Amos i. 14.

⁴ Job xxxvii. 9; Cf. ix. 9, Luke xii. 55.

⁵ Jer. iv. 13. Qy., should not Job xxvii. 20 be translated “steal-
eth upon him as the night”? Or is it rather to be compared with
1 Thess. v. 2, Rev. iii. 3?

⁶ p. 96. Edinb. 1843. Cf. *Bib. Res.* ii. 392.

⁷ *Travels*, ii. pp. 174, 175.

⁸ *Ib.* ii. pp. 94, 95.

PART II. garments were cooler than those exposed to the immediate contact of the wind. . . . At 5, finding the heat intolerable, we walked up the dry torrent bed in search of water. Found two successive pools rather than a stream. Washed and bathed in one of the pools, but the relief was only momentary. In one instant after leaving the water, the moisture on the surface evaporated, and left the skin dry, parched, and stiff. Coming out from the ravine, the sight was a singular one. The wind had increased to a tempest; the two extremities and the western shore of the sea were curtained by a mist, on this side of a purple hue, on the other a yellow tinge; and the red and rayless sun, in the bronzed clouds, had the appearance it presents when looked upon through smoked glass. The heat rather increased than lessened after the sun went down. At 8 P.M., the thermometer was 106° five feet from the ground. At one foot from the latter it was 104°. We threw ourselves upon the parched, cracked earth, among dry stalks and canes, which would before have seemed insupportable from the heat. Some endeavoured to make a screen of one of the boat's awnings, but the fierce wind swept it over in an instant. It was more like the blast of a furnace than living air.¹ Thus strikingly does modern research illustrate the prophet's imagery, when ushering in

¹ *Exped. to the Dead Sea*, pp. 312—314.

“the burden of the *desert of the sea.*” And if such PART II. language come naturally from the mouth of Isaiah, himself a prophet of Judah, still more appropriate must be any allusion to the subject on the part of Amos, whose residence in the Negeb would render him perfectly familiar with this terrible visitation. Even so we find him, as the mouthpiece of Jehovah, uttering these sublime words :

“I will kindle a fire in the wall of Rabbah,
And it shall devour the palaces thereof,
With shouting in the day of battle,
With a tempest in the day of the whirlwind.”

Amos i. 14.

iii. “The burden of the beasts of the Negeb: Isa. xxx. 6. through the land of rocky defiles and chasms,¹ whence come the lioness and the fierce lion, the viper and fiery flying serpent, they will carry their riches upon the shoulders of young asses, and their treasures upon the humps of camels, to a people that shall not profit.”

¹ So I have ventured to translate צַרְחַת וְצַוְקַת, in harmony with the literal character of the rest of the verse. Both words primarily signify *straitness* or *compression* : the former, however, seeming to import simply what is *narrow*, as opposed to breadth (Num. xxii. 26; 2 Kings vi. 1; Job xxxvi. 16; Prov. iv. 12; Isa. xxviii. 20; Lam. i. 3; Zech. x. 11, which I would render, “through the *narrow sea.*” Cf. Sept. and Isa. xi. 15); whereas the latter is intensified by the additional idea of *depth*, as we see in the cognate Arabic *Sik*, applied to the “terrific chasm” by which Petra is approached, and to other similar fissures still nearer the Negeb. (*Bib. Res.* ii. 510, 516—518, 587.) Hence, perhaps, our word *choke* (Wilson’s *Heb. Gram.* p. 246. Lond. 1824), which appears quite as likely an etymology as the Anglo-Saxon *ocecean*; if both indeed are not derived from a common source.

PART II. Here we have a description of the region which the Jews would have to traverse on their way to Egypt in quest of help against the Assyrians. This is in exact accordance with what we have already seen to have been the patriarchal usage.¹ Just as, at a later geographical arrangement of the country, any one proceeding by the direct route from Judæa to Galilee John iv. 4. "must needs go through Samaria;" so, those who would go to Egypt by the regular caravan road, must needs pass through the intervening district of the Negeb.

This single verse, then, is an epitome of the Natural History of the Negeb,—its chief physical and zoological characteristics. Of its passes and chasms, I have fully treated in connection with the term *aphik*,² which comprises both ideas. I pass at once, therefore, to the consideration of its *fauna*:-

(1) *The Lion.* If we carefully examine the incidental allusions of Scripture to this animal, we shall find that they generally connect it with the Negeb. Witness the dying Jacob's prophetic blessing pronounced upon Judah: "Judah is a lion's whelp:³ from the prey, my son, thou art gone up: Gen. xlix. 9. he stooped down, he couched as a lion, and as a lioness; who shall rouse him up?" The expression "thou art gone *up*," is significant, referring to the animal's ascent from its lair in the low-lying jungle

¹ See Pt. I. Sect. i.

² See Pt. II. Sect. i.

³ Cf. the epithet applied to our Lord, "The Lion of the tribe of Judah." (Rev. v. 5.)

(which extends, at intervals, from the valley of the Jordan to the southern extremity of the Dead Sea), through the ravines of the Negeb to the Hill-country. Jeremiah, a native of Anathoth in the neighbouring tribe of Benjamin, with equal propriety speaks of the lion "coming up from his thicket," and "forsaking ^{PART II.} *Jer. iv. 7.* his covert;" while, with those graphic touches which ^{Jer. xxv. 38.} indicate so unmistakeably the personal knowledge of the eye-witness, he tells us, once and again, *why* he thus quits his haunts, and *whither* he betakes himself: "Behold, he shall come up like a lion from the swelling of Jordan against the habitation of the strong." ^{Jer. xlix. 19, l. 44.} This last expression (כָוֹה אִירַחַנּוּ) should be rendered, I think, either "the rock-hewn sheepfolds," of which we have an instance in 1 Sam. xxiv. 3,¹ or "the rock-pastures," *i. e.* the pasture-grounds situated on the rocky plateaux of the Negeb. It will be observed that one of these words (גְּרִיאָה) is the same as that which has already been noticed, in reference to the *aphikim* of the Negeb,² as strictly applicable to this region of rugged heights and precipitous water-courses. The prophet of Benjamin having thus spoken of that part of the lion's habits with which he was himself familiar, we naturally look, for notices of its further movements, to those of the sacred

¹ We find the same usage still existing in this very region. *Bib. Res.* ii. 193. Cf. Lynch, *Exped. to the Dead Sea*, p. 289, which seems the exact counterpart of 1 Sam. xxiv. 3.

² See Pt. II. Sect. i.

PART II. writers who, from various causes, were personally acquainted with the Negeb; that being the portion of Judah which afforded peculiar facilities for its ravages, from its greater proximity, its thinner population, and its eminently pastoral character. We read, then, without surprise the narrative of David's encounter

¹ Sam. xvii with a lion as he fed his flocks near Bethlehem, to 34, 35.

which there is direct access from the eastern wilderness by the ravines of 'Urtâs and Ta'âmirah. The repeated references to the lion contained in his writings¹ lose their full significance if we fail to remember that while the Negeb was a principal habitat of this animal, it was also the scene of the Psalmist's weary wanderings as a persecuted outcast. We cannot but observe a similar frequency of allusion on the part of his son Solomon,² which may well be explained by his constant visits to his gardens and pools at Etam ('Urtâs), and his vineyards at Engedi.³ With like consistency we are told of the prowess of Benaiah, "a valiant man of Kabzeel," in slaying one or more of the lions which infested the frontier jungle then (as now) separating the Negeb from Edom and Moab.⁴ Moreover, it is not a little re-

¹ Ps. vii. 2, x. 9, xvii. 12, xxii. 13, 21, xxxv. 17, lvii. 4, civ. 21; 2 Sam. i. 23. I omit Ps. xxxiv. 10, lviii. 6, xci. 13, which appear to be mistranslations.

² Prov. xix. 12, xx. 2, xxii. 13, xxvi. 13, xxviii. 1, 15, xxx. 30; Eccl. ix. 4.

³ Eccl. ii. 4—6; Cant. i. 14.

⁴ 2 Sam. xxiii. 20; Cf. Josh. xv. 21, Isa. xv. 9; also *Bib. Res.* ii. pp. 489, 494, 495.

markable that the references to a lion by Amos, the PART II. shepherd-prophet of Tekoa¹ are, proportionally, far more numerous than those of any of the other prophets.² His very first utterance is, "The Lord will

¹ Amos i. 1. The word translated "herdman" (נָשָׂקֵד *nashkēd*) strictly denotes a "sheep-breeder," or owner of small cattle, *i. e.* sheep and goats; it is the same as that applied to Meaha, king of Moab, 2 Kings iii. 4, and there correctly rendered "sheep-master," as the context proves. It is a striking corroboration of the minute accuracy of the sacred writer, that the modern successors of Amos, the Ta'āmirah Arabs, who "occupy the district lying between Bethlehem, Tekoa, and the Dead Sea," while they possess "numerous flocks of sheep and goats" "have few cows." (*Bib. Res.* ii. 176, 179, 180.) In perfect harmony with this is the account of Nabal's possessions at Maon and Carmel, which, like those of his present representatives, the Jehālin Arabs, consisted, not of large cattle, but of 3000 sheep and 1000 goats. (1 Sam. xxv. 2. Cf. *Lands of the Bible*, ii. 710.) So also David's charge in the wilderness of Bethlehem is invariably said to have been a *flock*, not a herd (1 Sam. xvi. 11, 19, 20; xvii. 15, 20, 28, &c.); and, a thousand years afterwards, on that auspicious night when a Saviour was announced to an expectant world, "there were in the same country *shepherds* abiding in the field, keeping watch over their flock by night." (Luke ii. 8.) For these reasons I am inclined to think (with Archbp. Secker) that the true reading of Amos vii. 14 is also כוֹלָקֵד. The present text has בְּרָקֵד, a word which occurs nowhere else, and which might easily have been mistaken by the copyist for כוֹלָקֵד; it being borne in mind that the actual resemblance would be still further increased by the double lines used by the scribes for the purpose of securing uniformity of writing. (Kennicott's *State of the Heb. Text*, i. pp. 87, 526. Oxf. 1753.) The context, moreover, would seem absolutely to require a word signifying *shepherd*; and that such was the original reading of the Hebrew text is still more probable from the Septuagint rendering, *aitōlos*. The term correctly translated "flock" in ver. 15 is גְּזַע *tsōn*, which is exclusively applicable to sheep and goats, and never includes larger cattle, as is the case with עֵדֶר *'ēder*.

² If we take the ratio of the number of allusions to the number of chapters in each prophet, the result will be as follows:—Amos 55½ per cent.; Joel, Nahum, and Zephaniah, 33½; Hosea, 21½; Jeremiah,

PART II. *roar* from Zion;" the original term strictly applying Amos i. 2. to the roaring of the lion: and his other notices could Amos iii. 4. only have been written by one who had himself 8, 12; v. 19. trembled at the voice of the king of beasts, nay, who had actually met him in deadly encounter while guarding his flocks in the wilderness of Tekoa.

One other illustration is afforded in the name Lebaoth or Beth-lebaoth (house of lionesses), a city Josh. xv. 32, xix. 6. of the Negeb, which, I believe, is represented by the modern el-Beyûdh, a ruined site N.E. of Arad.¹

Such is the evidence derived from Scripture, associating the Lion with the Negeb; and notwithstanding the changes consequent on the lapse of time, which have especially operated in the case of this animal, causing some writers to affirm that it is not now to be found west of the Euphrates, the notices of modern travellers suffice to show that it still frequents its old haunts. The author of "Eothen" met with the "fresh print of a lion's foot" in the desert south of Gaza.² De Saulcy came upon similar traces near Sebbeh or Masada, which from their size could only

19^½; Job and Micah, 14^½; Isaiah, 13⁷; Daniel (reckoning ch. vi. as one, and excluding the vision), 8^½; Zechariah, 7^½; Ezekiel (omitting symbols and mistranslations), 4^½.

¹ *Bib. Res.* ii. 472. See Part III. Sect. xxvii., for a further discussion of this point. It is only necessary to remark here, that of the interchange of *a* and *i* we have examples in Jufna for Ophni, 'Aya for Ai, and Mâdebeh for Medeba; of *th* and *ts*, in Dhâneh for Thana. For the omission of the initial syllable, compare *ez-Zîb* for Achzib.

² p. 348.

be those of a lion.¹ I may also mention a remark of PART II. Burckhardt's,² that the name given to a pass in the mountains N. of Wady Feirân (Jebel Leboua or Lebweh, "the mountain of the lioness,") probably indicates "that lions existed at one period in the peninsula of Mount Sinai, though no longer (as he erroneously thought) to be found here." "The sheikh and his brother who accompanied Mr. Cory, assured him that lions are often seen in Petra, and the hills immediately beyond it....the lion, from their description, could not be mistaken."³ "We were told (says Dr. Wilson) that the lion is found in Wady Hamad."⁴

(2) *Noxious reptiles* are mentioned as characteristic of the Negeb; two of which are specified, viz. "the viper and fiery flying serpent."

If the conclusion arrived at in respect of the Lion is established on a sound basis, similar results ought to follow in this instance; and such is indeed the case. There is the same comparative frequency and minuteness of reference, indicative of the eyewitness, on the part of David,⁵ of Solomon, and of Amos, who, *Prov. xxiii,*

32, xxx.

¹ De Saulcy, i. p. 248.

² *Syria*, p. 483.

19; *Eccl.*

³ Dr. Keith's *Evidence of Prophecy*, p. 346. *Edinb.* 1848.

x. 8, 11.

⁴ *Lands of the Bible*, ii. p. 739.

⁵ *Ps. lxxviii. 4—8.* Our English Version scarcely does justice to the force of the original. First, we have the generic term *nachash*, which includes both land and water reptiles; next, the *pethen* or asp (whence, perhaps, the *Python* of the Greeks), still called *beten* by the Arabs, and by the people of Cyprus, *kuſi* (*κυνόη*) "deaf." (Harris, *Nat. Hist. of the Bible*, pp. 19, 20. *Lond.* 1833.) Then, after alluding to

PART II. as before, stands at the head of the prophets in the proportionate number of his allusions,¹ there being two Amos v. 19, in his brief prophecy, both of which are remarkable ix. 3. as implying personal experience and observation.

If we now turn to the testimony of modern witnesses, we find from Dr. Shaw, that the desert adjacent to the Dead Sea abounds with a variety of lizards and vipers, which are as troublesome as they are numerous.² It is a curious circumstance that the only reptiles, whether *sauria* or *ophidia*, observed by Dr. Robinson during the whole of his travels, were the well-known practice of serpent-charming, the Psalmist speaks of the "great (literally, *prominent*) teeth," i. e. poison-fangs of serpents (not lions, the original כְּפִירִים *cephirim*, like the cognate Arabic, signifying the vigorous young of several animals, and depending on the context for its specific meaning) the removal of which renders them innocuous.

Ps. xci. 13. Here, too, the reference appears to be to *serpents* of different kinds; as "treading" and "trampling under foot" can with propriety be applied only to reptiles (Luke x. 19). Moreover, the word rendered "lion" is understood by the Sept., Vulg., Syr., Arab., and other translators to denote some kind of snake, and probably refers to the black serpent or *hæmorrhœus* (*Bochart in Harris*, pp. 3, 20); while that rendered "young lion" (as we have just seen) takes its meaning from the context, and is sometimes represented in the Sept. by δράκων. It is thought to be the *cenchris* or spotted serpent, called by the Greeks λέων αἰόλος. (*Harris*, pp. 3, 20.) Of the tendency to compare other creatures to the lion we have a familiar example in the word *chameleon* ("ground lion"). Cf. 2 Sam. xvii. 10, xxiii. 20; 1 Chron. xii. 8; Isa. v. 29; Joel i. 6; Rev. ix. 8, 17.—David has a third graphic allusion at Ps. cxl. 3.

¹ Adopting the same process as in the case of the lion, we have the following result:—Amos, 22½ per cent.; Micah, 14½; Isaiah, 9½; Job, 7½; Jeremiah, 3½; Ezekiel, 2½. The others contain no references whatever.

² Keith's *Evidence of Prophecy*, p. 343.

within the Negeb, or close to its borders: viz., among the ruins of Sebâta (Zephath) in Wady er-Ruheibeh, where he saw "multitudes of lizards briskly and silently gliding among the stones;"¹ near 'Ain el-Feshkhah, a little north of Wady en-Nâr (or Kedron), where "the guides killed an immense lizard, which measured 3 ft. 8 in.," and proved to be the Waran or *Lacerta Nilotica*;² and near 'Ajlân (or Eglon), N.E. of Gaza, where "the muleteers killed a large black snake, 6 ft. long,—the only one we saw in Palestine."³ While Richard Cœur de Lion's army lay not far from the last-mentioned place, "a soldier and his armour-bearer died from the bites of two serpents, within a small space of ground;"⁴ and Dr. Thomson relates, that, while wandering over the ruins of ancient Gaza, he "came upon an immense serpent" in the act of killing a lark.⁵

It will be remembered that the Ascent of Acrabbim (doubtless so called from the scorpions which abounded there) was one of the southern landmarks of this district. *Josh. xv. 3.* De Saulcy was disposed to give this name to the pass of Wady ez-Zuweirah, from the fact that it swarmed

¹ *Bib. Res.* i. p. 290.

² *Ib.* ii. p. 253. It was evidently a creature of this species that La Broequière, a traveller of the fifteenth century, encountered, south of Gaza, and of which he gives a very quaint description (*Early Travels in Palestine*, p. 289; cf. 508. Lond. 1848).

³ *Ib.* ii. p. 392.

⁴ *Geoff. Chron. Crus.* p. 295. Lond. 1848.

⁵ *The Land and the Book*, p. 547. Lond. 1860.

PART II. with these animals. "You cannot (he says) turn over a single pebble in the Nedjd (a branch Wady) without finding one under it."¹ Miss Martineau speaks of four being discovered north of the Sufâh pass (one of the entrances to southern Palestine) as soon as the tents were pitched; and shortly after, of two others which were found in some caverns in the limestone rock.² Lieut. Lynch, while encamped at Engedi, writes, "In the night, killed a tarantula and a scorpion;" and when preparing to take up his quarters in some caves in a ravine between Wadys Ghuweir and Nâr, he was dissuaded by the Arabs with the assurance that "they abound with serpents and scorpions, which crawl out in the night."³ There is a propriety, therefore, in the metaphor employed by John the Baptist, when addressing the Scribes and Pharisees in "the wilderness of Judæa" (with which he was himself so familiar): "O generation of vipers!"⁴

It was not far from the southern frontier of the Negeb that "the Lord sent fiery serpents among the people, and they bit the people; and much people of Israel died." In this very neighbourhood Captain Frazer met with a reptile of the adder species, called *hannish*: and he adds, "All the Arabs say there are *flying ser-*

¹ De Saulcy, i. p. 529.

² *Recollections of the East*, iii. pp. 47, 56.

³ Lynch, pp. 300, 381.

⁴ Matt. iii. 1, 5—7; Luke iii. 3, 7. The only other references to this reptile in the Gospels (Matt. xii. 34, xxiii. 33,) are connected with this same country of Judæa.

pents here, three feet long, very venomous, their bite ^{PART II.} deadly; they have no wings, but *make great springs.*¹¹ Niebuhr found, near Basrah (Buseirah), a venomous species called *Heie Sursurie*, and *Heie Thiare*, *i. e.* “flying serpent,” because it was said to fling itself from one tree to another.² This latter statement furnishes a satisfactory explanation of one epithet applied to these serpents. The other (“fiery”), if indeed it denotes anything more than the burning sensation produced by the bite (which is the rendering of the Arabic Version), is also not without its appropriate illustration. Mr. Churton, when S.W. of the Dead Sea, fell in with a large, *red-coloured* serpent, which issued from a hollow tree; it was accounted dangerous by his Arab guides, who first fired at it, and then hewed it to pieces with swords.³ Schubert also states, in his journey to Mount Hor, that “a large and very mottled snake was brought to us, marked with *fiery* spots and spiral lines, which evidently belonged, from the formation of its teeth, to one of the most poisonous species..... The Bedawin say that these snakes, of which they have great dread, are very numerous in this locality.”⁴

(3) The prophet finally speaks of the *beasts of burden* characteristic of the Negeb—the *Ass* and the

¹ Forster's *Sinai*, pp. 137, 138.

² *Cyc. of Bib. Lit.*, Art. ‘Serpent.’

³ *Land of the Morning*, p. 130.

⁴ Cited in Kurtz, iii. pp. 343, 344. Edinb. 1859.

PART II. *Camel*; and here, equally as before, the minute accuracy of the inspired volume is attested alike by ancient and modern evidence.

To begin with the testimony of Holy Scripture. Although we find frequent mention of the use both of the horse and the ox, for purposes of draught or carriage, in connection with every other part of Palestine; not once is this the case with regard to the "South Country." In the several enumerations of the patriarchal possessions, while the camel and the ass regularly occur, the horse is never named; and it will be remembered that Abraham and Isaac lived chiefly in the Negeb. So also, in every passage, relating to this district, in which an individual is represented as riding, or as employing a beast of burden, the animal is invariably either an ass—witness Abraham,¹ Achsah,² and Abigail,³—or a camel, as in the case of Eliezer,⁴ Rebecca,⁵ and the 400 Amalekites.⁶ When David invaded the country of the latter, which formed part of the Negeb,⁷ sheep, and oxen, and asses, and camels, are specified as the animals captured.⁸ And when Asa spoiled the cities of Gerar (also in the Negeb⁹), he "smote the tents of cattle, and carried away sheep and camels in abundance."¹⁰

¹ Gen. xxii. 3, 5. ² Josh. xv. 18. ³ 1 Sam. xxv. 18, 20, 23.

⁴ Gen. xxiv. 10, &c. ⁵ Ib. vv. 61—4. ⁶ 1 Sam. xxx. 17.

⁷ Num. xiii. 29.

⁸ 1 Sam. xxvii. 9; cf. xv. 9, 14, 15.

⁹ Gen. xx. 1.

¹⁰ 2 Chron. xiv. 14, 15.

We have seen the Lion employed to symbolize PART II. the tribe of Judah in the prophetic blessing of Jacob. It is not without significance that the only other animal symbol in that inspired effusion is the Ass,¹ evidently occupied in carrying home the rich produce of the vineyards (another characteristic of Judah). While, therefore, the one animal personified the tribe in its regal and warlike aspects, the other as fitly embodied its domestic economy and the more peaceful pursuits of its everyday life. Our thoughts pass by a natural transition to that remarkable prophecy of Zechariah, which was so literally verified when our Saviour, in lowly triumph, entered Jerusalem; for so striking is the identity of language in the patriarch and the evangelist,—both speaking of the ass and its colt, both specifying the circumstance of their being tied, and both connecting the transaction with the tribe of Judah,—that we seem compelled to recognise in the words of dying Jacob a dim foreshadowing of the scene that was enacted, 1700 years afterwards, on the eastern slopes of Olivet.

We may also observe how the slightest incidental allusions prove to be in perfect harmony with these more direct references. When Anah the Horite

¹ Gen. xl ix. 11. The word "foal" is more correctly rendered "young ass" in the passage of Isaiah now under consideration. "His ass's colt" is literally "the son of his she-ass." Both terms are used in Zech. ix. 9.

PART II. made the valuable discovery of living waters in the neighbouring “wilderness,” it was “as he fed the *asses* of Zibeon his father.”¹ And when John the Baptist emerged from his long seclusion in the Luke i. 39, “deserts” adjacent to his native hills, and came 80. heralding the approach of the Messiah, he “had his Matt. iii. 4. raiment of *camel's* hair.”²

Let us now examine the testimony of modern travellers, and see how far it corroborates that of Holy Scripture in specifying the ass and the camel as the beasts of burden most peculiarly adapted to the Negeb. Irby and Mangles describe the *Jehâlin* Arabs as having “plenty of sheep, goats, and camels.”³ When Dr. Robinson visited them, twenty years later, they had, besides their flocks, “22 horses and about 200 camels: the horses, of course, belonged to the sheikhs.” He himself saw “about 150 camels driven by at once to water,” remarking incidentally that they “were much superior to those of the peninsula.”⁴ The possessions of the *Kâ'âbîneh* Arabs, immediately N. of these, consist of “flocks and camels.”⁵ The

¹ Gen. xxxvi. 24. The generally received opinion which identifies Anah's discovery with the Hot Springs of Callirhoe (in Wady Zurka Ma'in), N.E. of the Dead Sea, appears to me exceedingly improbable; whether we consider its remoteness from the Horite territory, its actual occupation by gigantic races (Gen. xiv. 5, Deut. ii. 10, 20), its unsuitableness for Anah's particular charge, and the utter absence of solid proof that the original denotes *hot* springs at all.

² Ch. vii. p. 106. Lond. 1844. Cf. Van de Velde, ii. pp. 85, 107.

³ Bib. Res. ii. pp. 468—470, 479.

⁴ Ib. ii. p. 202.

Wady Ghâr, in their territory, is represented as PART II. "nearly impassable for horses;" whereas "even loaded camels" often go up and down the stair-like pass of Engedi.¹ While at the latter place, he observed a troop of asses descend for salt; and he remarks, "the poor animals had afterwards to ascend this difficult pass with heavy loads."² South-west of the Dead Sea, he met a party of travellers on asses, which "proved to be a Gaza merchant, who had been buying sheep and butter at Kerak, and was now returning home with his purchases, accompanied by two or three men from Kerak."³ In striking contrast to this example of the mode of travelling adopted by those engaged in peaceful pursuits, he soon afterwards narrowly escaped encountering a band of marauders, "composed of four hundred men on dromedaries from the Tiyâhah, Terâbîn, Dhullâm, and 'Azâzimeh, going against the Hâwâzim and 'Anazeh of the Syrian desert."⁴ Fortunately for our present purpose, Dr. Robinson traversed the Negeb in every direction; we may therefore implicitly avail ourselves of the results of his careful observation. When approaching from the south, he fell in with

¹ *Bib. Res.* ii. pp. 185, 186, 203, 208.

² *Ib.* ii. p. 210.

³ *Ib.* ii. p. 486.

⁴ *Ib.* ii. p. 584. This serves as a good modern counterpart to the incident above referred to (1 Sam. xxx. 17), of the 400 Amalekites who eluded David's attack by the fleetness of their camels, or, rather, dromedaries.

PART II. a large caravan of Haweitât Arabs, of whom he says, "They were now wandering towards the south of Palestine, and had with them about seventy camels and many asses, but no flocks."¹ In Wady Jerûr (valley of Gerar) "camels were at pasture."² In Wady Jâifeh "many camels were browsing."³ In Wady es-Serâm were "camels and flocks."⁴ At 'Abdeh ('Aujeh) he saw "camels and goats at pasture."⁵ At Bir es-Sub'a (Beersheba) "Arabs were pasturing their camels in various parts."⁶ The district called et-Turâibeh, belonging to the Sa'idiyeh Arabs, "although chiefly covered with loose sand, had everywhere many herbs, affording pasture for camels."⁷ The only "stray" animals met with from time to time were camels.⁸ And on arriving at the northern extremity of the Negeb, he significantly remarks, "We had now done with camels."⁹ Turning westwards, we are informed by the Scottish Deputation to the East that when S. of Gaza, they observed a camel employed in turning a waterwheel; and that soon afterwards they met others laden with sheaves of barley.¹⁰ In the same latitude, Dr. Robinson found both asses and camels thus engaged;¹¹ and Dr. Stewart "came up with some of the 'Azâzimeh, who were *ploughing* with camels," while "many

¹ *Bib. Res.* i. p. 239.

² *Ib.* p. 278.

³ *Ib.* p. 279.

⁴ *Ib.* p. 283.

⁵ *Ib.* p. 285.

⁶ *Ib.* p. 300.

⁷ *Ib.* ii. p. 614.

⁸ *Ib.* pp. 617, 618.

⁹ *Ib.* p. 632.

¹⁰ *Narrative*, pp. 98, 106.

¹¹ *Bib. Res.* p. 6.

camels were feeding on the plain." Presently he PART II. "met a company of merchants from Gaza bound for the desert, whose *asses* were laden with all sorts of commodities likely to prove attractive to the Bedawin."¹ Dr. Bonar's testimony is to a similar effect when in the Wady er-Ruheibeh: "The Arab husbandmen were busy with the plough.... Here it was drawn, not as usual by oxen, but by camels. Some ten or twelve of these we saw at work in various directions, in the course of our forenoon's ride."² His sheikh was "said to be the owner of a thousand camels."³ "Here (at Beersheba—writes Mr. Drew) the desert shrubs are now all left behind, and we come every hour on new sights and sounds, telling us that we are *in* Palestine, and approaching the upper part of the 'South Country.' It was curious to meet well-dressed women riding on *asses*, and in one instance guarded, just as Sarah might have been, here, when she went forth."⁴ In harmony with this, Van de Velde relates how, as he sat resting at the fountain Kussâbeh, there came past a numerous party of Bedawin women, "some on foot, others on *asses*,.... on their way with provisions to their husbands, who had decamped an hour before for the Wady Sher'ah on a fighting expedition."⁵ This traveller, who (contrary to the usual

¹ *Tent and Khan*, pp. 216, 217.

² *Desert of Sinai*, pp. 316, 317.

⁴ *Scripture Lands*, p. 415.

³ *Ib.* p. 297.

⁵ Van de Velde, ii. p. 146.

PART II. practice) had hired horses for this part of his journey, speaks of their intense sufferings from thirst when ascending the Nukb el-Em'az, one of the passes of the Negeb;¹ and describes the Wady 'Ar'âr'ah as "troublesome to horses, owing to the sharpness of the rocks:"² whereas Lord Lindsay, Dr. Robinson, and Dr. Wilson, who had camels, experienced no difficulty whatever. The last-mentioned writer, in reference to this very Wady, says, "We met several companies of travellers with asses and camels."³ He also tells us that the Tiyâhah Arabs, in the S.W., "subsist principally by rearing and selling camels."⁴ In this he is confirmed by Burckhardt, who speaks of this tribe as "richer in camels and flocks than any other" in the peninsula.⁵

I cannot better conclude this portion of our subject than by citing two remarks of that most observant of travellers, Dr. Robinson. After alluding to a certain Arab tribe, none of whom possessed horses except the sheikh, and he only four or five, he adds: "This fact shows that their country is a desert. *Horses and neat cattle require a supply of water and fresh pasture.* Hence by *inquiring after the animals* which a tribe possessed, we were always able to ascertain the *nature of their country.*"⁶ How strikingly this illustrates the circumstances of the Negeb: that

¹ Van de Velde, ii. p. 126.

² *Ib.* p. 133.

³ *Lands of the Bible* i. p. 346.

⁴ *Ib.* ii. p. 710.

⁵ *Syria*, p. 481.

⁶ *Bib. Res.* i. p. 268.

“dry and thirsty land,” whose winter torrents were **PART II.** so inadequate a substitute for the perennial springs of more favoured regions; where the discovery of living water was a rare and memorable event; and the very names of whose wells indicated the jealous contentions of which they were the scenes.¹

The other observation is this: that while not a few “traces of an ancient paved road” yet remain, there is “*nowhere any appearance whatever of ruts.*”²

Remarkable indeed is the contrast presented, the moment the traveller crosses the N. W. frontier of the Negeb, and enters on the rich and extensive plain of the *Shephelah* or Lowland. As he gazes around him from some gentle eminence, he sees “flocks and *herds*, and troops of camels and asses, besides the tents of the Henâdy *and their numerous horses.*”³ And so we find that fertile expanse occupied of old by the Philistines, with their “chariots and horsemen,” their “carts” and draught cattle;⁴ by the tribe of Simeon, two of whose cities were Beth-Marcaboth (“house of chariots”) and Hazar-Susah or Susim (“village of horses”);⁵ and by that of Dan, which was appropriately symbolized in the blessing of Jacob by the “horse” and its “rider.”

Gen. xlix.
17.

¹ Gen. xxi. 14—19, 25—31; xxvi. 15—21.

² *Later Researches*, pp. 274, 278.

³ *Bib. Res.* ii. pp. 389—391.

⁴ 1 Sam. vi. 7—12, xiii. 5; 2 Sam. i. 6.

⁵ Josh. xix. 5; 1 Chron. iv. 31; cf. Judg. i. 17—19.

PART II.

We cease, then, to wonder that the camel and the ass are mentioned by the prophet as characteristic of the Negeb; inasmuch as they are the only animals fitted by nature alike to traverse its arid plateaux, and to toil up and down its rugged and precipitous defiles: nor are we surprised that the prophet Amos, with his personal knowledge of the resources and capabilities of his native district, should incredulously ask, “Shall horses run upon the rock? will one plough there with oxen?”¹

iv. Reference has been made, more than once, to the inspired words uttered by Jacob on his death-bed; and we have seen how true they were both to nature and history. I have now, in concluding this part of our subject, to notice briefly two other prophetic declarations which relate directly to the South Country, and which are even now in process of fulfilment.

Jer. xiii.
19.

(1) “The cities of the Negeb shall be shut up, and none shall open them: Judah shall be carried away captive all of it, it shall be wholly carried away captive.”

Nothing could more exactly describe the present condition of this region. The book of Joshua, as we shall presently see, contains a long list of its

¹ Amos vi. 12. There is an interesting illustration of this passage in Miss Rogers' *Domestic Life in Palestine*, (p. 318. Lond. 1862), which was not published until some time after the above remarks were written.

cities, not a few of which still survive, covering many PART II. acres with ruins which might easily be rendered habitable, and containing well-preserved cisterns, reservoirs, and other advantages, which might be supposed sufficient to attract a settled population. Yet it is a universally attested fact, that throughout the whole extent of the Negeb, thickly strewn as it is with traces of its former occupants, and peopled by hardy tribes who pay but a nominal allegiance to the Turkish government, there is not so much as a single inhabited village. Not until the traveller has fairly crossed its northern boundary and entered the Hill-country, does this strange spectacle, of deserted towns and a houseless population, cease to arrest his attention. Dr. Robinson speaks of Sem'a (the ancient Eshtemoh) as "the first inhabited place in approaching Hebron" from the south.¹ The Arabs of the Negeb, contrary to the usage prevailing in every other part of Palestine, carefully avoid taking up their abode in the ancient sites, and, in a country habitually exposed, as we have seen, to sudden visitations of the whirlwind and the storm, prefer the shelter either of a tent, or of some cave, bequeathed to them by the Horite aborigines, or even of the very quarry which furnished the materials of the adjoining city. Concerning the remains of 'Ar'âra'h (Aroer)

¹ *Bib. Res.* ii. p. 626. Cf. Stephens, *Incidents of Travel*, ch. xxiv. p. 80.

PART II. and Milh (Moladah), Mr. Stephens, probably the first to call attention to them, writes thus: "The solitary trail of the Indian over our prairies and forests is more perfectly marked as a road than either of the great routes to Gaza or Jerusalem; and yet, near the spot where these two roads diverge, are the ruins of an ancient city. . . . As in the ruined city I had just passed, there was not a solitary inhabitant, and not a living being was to be seen but my companions watering their camels at the ancient wells."¹ Referring to 'Abdeh ('Aujeh), Dr. Robinson says, "It must have been a place of importance and of great strength. . . . But the desert has reassumed its rights; the intrusive hand of cultivation has been driven back; the race that dwelt here have perished (rather should it be said, been carried away captive for a season); and their works now look abroad in loneliness and silence over the mighty waste."² To take one other example; he writes thus of es-Sebâta (the ancient Zephath or Hormah): "Once, as we judged upon the spot, this must have been a city of not less than twelve or fifteen thousand inhabitants. Now, it is a perfect field of ruins, a scene of unutterable desolation, across which the passing stranger can with difficulty find his way . . . and at evening, as we sat writing (in the tent), the screechings of an owl were

¹ Ch. xxiv. p. 78. Compare, also, the native account of the eastern or true 'Abdeh, Pt. III. Sect. xx.

² *Bib. Res.* i. pp. 284—287.

the only sound to break in upon the death-like PART II.
stillness."¹

A mighty spell thus seems to rest upon the cities of the Negeb, forbidding all access as effectually as if they were literally "shut up" by gates and walls.

But the "sure word of prophecy," which predicted 2 Pet. i. 19. this very state of things, has also declared that it shall not always be so. The day will come (and how soon, we know not,) when the spell shall be broken, these desolate dwelling-places shall welcome back their rightful tenants, "and the captivity of Jeru- Obad. ver. salem . . . shall possess the cities of the Negeb."^{20.}

(2) "They of the Negeb shall possess the Mount Obad. ver. of Esau."^{19.}

We have already seen (and it will appear yet more evident in the sequel) that this district was, from the first, comprised within the limits of the Holy Land, although not actually occupied until a later period. These words, therefore, are a distinct announcement that Mount Seir should eventually be possessed by *Israelites*. Now it is a remarkable circumstance that the present occupants of the country around Petra actually claim for themselves an Israelitish descent. Dr. Wilson, whose visit to Petra was made under unusually favourable circumstances, became well acquainted with these people, called Ly-athene by Burckhardt,² and expresses himself thus

¹ *Ib.* pp. 290, 291.

² *Syria*, p. 420.

PART II. respecting them: "The most interesting of our conferences with the Fellâhîn (agriculturists) of Wady Mûsa were those which referred to their own position in the human family. Having been struck with the peculiarity of their countenance and dress, we asked the sheikh and some of his dependants whom we had invited to our tents, if they considered themselves a distinct Arabian tribe, or a portion of any known Arabian community. Their reply was startling: 'No; we are the offspring of the sons of Israel.' " The conversation which ensued elicited from them the fact that they not only "consider themselves distinct from the Arabs," but that they "have no intermarriage with them." Our traveller was evidently puzzled by this account which they gave of themselves; but his own observation compelled him to acknowledge that "in their features and personal appearance, and even dress, as in the ringlet of hair above the ear which some of them wear, they certainly resemble the Jews who are settled in the east."¹

But something more than a merely general assertion of Israelitish occupation is contained in the passage before us. It predicts that the future possessors of Mount Seir should be those particular Israelites *who inhabited the Negeb.*

We are at no loss as to the tribe thus especially indicated. The Negeb, as I have already had oc-

¹ *Lands of the Bible*, i. pp. 330—333.

casion to mention, was originally assigned to Judah; PART II. but this arrangement was afterwards modified, and Josh. xv. detached settlements (in fulfilment of Gen. xlix. 7) 1—4, 21
v. 32. in the Negeb and Shephelah, but chiefly in the former, were given to Simeon. The natural inference, Josh. xix. 1—9. therefore, is, that we are to understand by the expression "they of the Negeb," Israelites of the tribe of *Simeon*. And that it was even so, is clear from the testimony of Scripture itself. In the first book of Chronicles (iv. 38—43) we are told how the Simeonites, compelled by increase of numbers to enlarge their boundaries, made an expedition, in the reign of Hezekiah, to that part of the Negeb (formerly belonging to the Philistines) which lay immediately south of them; and finding it exactly adapted to their requirements, they took possession of it, as indeed they had a perfect right to do. But, in process of time, even this acquisition proved insufficient, and a fresh swarm was thrown off from the parent hive. "And some of them, *even of the sons of Simeon*, five hundred men, *went to Mount Seir*, having for their captains Pelatiah, and Neariah, and Rephaiah, and Uzziel, the sons of Ishi. And they smote the rest of the Amalekites that were escaped, *and dwelt there unto this day.*" This last phrase implies, according to Patrick and Pool, that these Simeonites escaped the captivity of their brethren, and were still in possession of Mount Seir, when the books of Chron-

PART II. icles were compiled by Ezra and others after the Restoration. There is nothing improbable, therefore, in the opinion that the Fellâhîn of Wady Mûsa are really descended from that little band of Simeonite adventurers, and that thus the prediction of the prophet Obadiah is even now receiving a primary fulfilment.

But, doubtless, it awaits its full accomplishment in that day when “the Lord shall set His hand again the second time to recover the remnant of His people which shall be left;” when “they shall lay their hand upon Edom;” and when the long-foretold supremacy of Jacob over Esau, albeit for a time interrupted or even contravened, shall be finally and gloriously consummated.

Isa. xi. 11, 14.

PART III.

CITIES OF THE NEGEB.



CITIES OF THE NEGEB.

JOSH. xv. 21—32.

ALLUSION has already been made to the list of cities PART III. of the Negeb contained in this passage. But we shall not have done justice to our subject unless we examine more in detail what professes to be a formal catalogue of the principal places comprised within “the South Country.”

One of the first things which must strike an observant reader is the discrepancy between the specified number of cities at the close of the account, viz. 29, and the actual number, according to the present arrangement of the text, amounting to nearly 40.

Many explanations of this discrepancy have been offered; but not one of them is altogether satisfactory.

Still it appears to me that the attempt to reconcile the apparent contradiction is by no means hopeless, and that the Hebrew text itself, with occasional reference to the Septuagint, furnishes the means of solving the difficulty.

i. The first name is *Kabzeel* (קָבֶזֶל), which we should naturally look for where the description of the boundaries begins, *i. e.*, at or near the southern Josh. xv.
1—3.

PART III. extremity of the Dead Sea, on the borders of Edom.¹

Accordingly, we there find a Wady "of some size, called *el-Kuseib*," along which a stream descends from the 'Arabah into the Ghôr through the line of cliffs now generally recognised as the "Ascent of Acrabbim."² This situation also agrees exactly with the only historical incident connected with Kabzeel, viz., the exploits of Benaiah, one of David's "mighty men;"³ inasmuch as it adjoins the frontier of Moab (Wady el Ahsy or es-Sâfieh) even more closely than that of Edom.⁴ The principal letters of the two words are identical; the only difference being a slight transposition,⁵ and the dropping of the final 'n, which is merely an intensive affix.⁶ This identification is strengthened by the fact that the western or marshy portion of the Ghôr, which receives the Kuseib and numerous other streams, is called *es-Sabkhah*,⁷ a word

¹ See Masius, in Keil's *Commentary on Joshua*, p. 374. Edinb. 1857. He contents himself, however, with throwing out this suggestion.

² *Bib. Res.* ii. pp. 497, 501.

³ 2 Sam. xxiii. 20; 1 Chron. xi. 22.

⁴ See Sections ix. and xv. of this Part.

⁵ The one is Q. . b. . ts; the other, Q. . ts. . b. We have a yet stronger instance of this in Kaimôn, which Dr. Robinson rightly identifies with Jokneam. (*Later Bib. Res.* pp. 114, 115.) See also Hârûn (Aaron), Litâny (Leontes), Yâlo (Ajalon), Râjib (Argob).

⁶ Of this usage we have other examples in the modern Arabic forms for Elealeh ('Al), Migdalel (Mejdel), Jezreel (Zerîn), Arbel (Irbid). Compare also Eltolad and Tolad. (Sect. xxi.)

⁷ De Saulcy, i. 273—275. The easterly and more wooded portion takes the name es-Sâfieh. (*Bib. Res.* ii. pp. 488, 489.)

which contains the same three letters as Kuseib, with PART III. this difference, that they are an exact inversion of the three primary letters of Kabzeel. Now every oriental scholar is aware of the frequency with which the Anagram is employed, both in Hebrew and Arabic proper names.¹ I cannot but think, therefore, that near the mouth of the Wady Kuseib, where the Sabkhah, laying aside its marshy character, is covered with verdure and adorned with the palm, the nubk and the tamarisk, and the 'Ain el-'Arūs "sends forth a fine gushing stream of limpid water," which loses itself in "a broad tract of jungle below,"² we have a site which fulfils all the conditions necessary to determine the position of Kabzeel, or, as it is called in Neh. xi. 25, Jekabzeel.³

One further remark suggests itself, viz., that the **נ** placed at the end of the previous word בְּנֵבֶב in our present Hebrew text, where it has no significance, should be prefixed to קְבָצָאֵל as a definite article. The literal meaning of the word would then be "the gathering of GOD," *i. e.*, "the great gathering." Now, the verb קָבַץ denotes gatherings not only of

¹ Forster's *Hist. Geog. Arab.* vol. i. pp. lvi, lxxi, and *passim*. (Lond. 1844.) *Quart. Rev.* cxlviii. p. 331.

² *Bib. Res.* ii. p. 495.

³ It is a curious instance of the corrupting tendency of successive transcriptions, that the Sept. has καὶ Βασαλεὴλ in Josh. xv. 21, instead of Καβασεὴλ as in 2 Sam. xxiii. 20, or Καβασαὴλ, as in 1 Chron. xi. 22; as though the first syllable had slipped from the word, and reappeared as a superfluous conjunction.

PART III. persons but of things, and is expressly applied, in Isa. xxii. 9, to accumulations of water: "Ye gathered together the waters of the lower pool." What, then, could more graphically describe the spot on which the city of Benaiah stood than Kabzeel, "*the mighty confluence*"? For precisely at that point the Fikreh and Jeib (which drain the immense wadys Murreh and 'Arabah) as well as the Kuseib and many other watercourses, unite their swollen torrents, and, by innumerable channels, are ever making their way to the yet lower level of the Dead Sea.¹

By a remarkable coincidence, the same idiom is employed in reference to the *hero* of Kabzeel, who is said to have smitten אֶת שְׁנֵי אֱרִיאָל "two lions of God," *i. e.*, either two strong lions, or two men of extraordinary and lion-like courage.

ii. The second city in the list is *Eder* (עֵדֶר). The Hebrew is spelt in the same way as the "tower Gen. xxxv. of Edar," Jacob's next resting-place, after leaving 21. Bethlehem, and before joining his father at Mamre. If they are one and the same place, and if Eder may be assumed to be not far from Kabzeel, then Jacob must have taken this circuitous course in fulfilment Gen. xxxvii. 14. of his promise to Esau.

We can well understand his not venturing to visit his old home until he had paid his respects to

¹ Compare the expression "well watered everywhere," applied by the sacred writer to "the plain of Jordan, as thou comest unto Zoar" (the very spot we are now considering), Gen. xiii. 10.

his formidable brother, who perhaps at that time PART III. resided at or near Edar; for it was not until after Isaac's death that he settled permanently in Idumæa.¹

We do not, however, read elsewhere of any place bearing this name (Eder or Edar) in the Negeb; nor

¹ Gen. xxxvi. 6—8. There is no real contradiction between the statement at xxxii. 3, xxxiii. 14, 16, which represents Esau as already residing in Seir when Jacob returned from Padanaram, and that in xxxvi. 6—8, which describes him as only taking up his abode in Seir after his father's death. We know that the term Seir (derived from the Horite of that name, Gen. xxxvi. 20), in its wider sense, applied to the entire territory of the Horite aborigines, including the high table-land, north of Wady Murreh, which was afterwards occupied by the Amalekites, and, in its eastern part, is still called *as-Serr* (Compare Num. xiv. 45 with Deut. i. 44. See also Pt. I. Sect. v., III. vii. xxiii.). Now this is evidently the Seir inhabited by Esau, when Jacob sent messengers to him and promised to visit him; and it is carefully distinguished from the Seir in which Esau afterwards lived. The latter is expressly called "*Mount Seir*"; whereas the former is designated either simply "Seir" or, more particularly, "the *land* of Seir, the *field* of Edom." The word "field" (or "cultivated plain"), so obviously inapplicable to the rugged mountains of Idumæa proper, at once suggests a comparison with the "field of the Amalekites," which is proleptically referred to in the narrative of Chedorlaomer's expedition (Gen. xiv. 7. See Pt. I. v. 1), and with which it is doubtless identical. When the descendants of Seir were at length supplanted by those of Esau, the portion of Amalek (the northern Seir) was appropriately assigned over against that of his half-brother Teman (the 'Azâzimeh mountains—see III. xv.); the Wady Murreh (wilderness of Kadesh or Zin) alone interposing between the two dukedoms. The advantageous position of the Amalekites in the district first occupied by Esau may partly explain their early importance as a nation, and preeminence above their brethren (Num. xxiv. 7, 20); while in their actual possession of strictly Israelitish territory—a fact sufficiently indicated by Esau's voluntary withdrawal from it—we may perhaps trace one motive for that rancorous hostility which so peculiarly marked their conduct towards the chosen people.

PART III. is any such, I believe, known to the present Arab population. I incline, therefore, to the opinion that Jacob's halting-place is rather to be identified with the "tower of Edar" mentioned Mic. iv. 8 (margin); and that here, by a very natural and frequent error of the copyist, שָׁרֵך has been written for שָׁרֵע (Arad).¹ It certainly seems strange that in what professes to be an enumeration of the cities of the Negeb, Arad, which was evidently one of the principal ones, should otherwise be altogether omitted. But there is something more than merely negative or presumptive proof in favour of Arad. The reading of the Sept. ('Αρὰ), although itself not free from imperfection, yet retains sufficient to indicate what was the Hebrew text in its time. The balance of probabilities, therefore, seems clearly to point to Arad as the true reading.²

iii. The Septuagint is also of much service in helping us to determine the third name on the list. Instead of *Jagur*, it has Ἀσώρ = שָׁרֵך. Now, as this word, prefixed to the name of a place, with the signification of "pastoral settlement," is of such constant occurrence in this region as to constitute one of its marked characteristics, we are perfectly justified in joining it to the next word *Kinah*; and

¹ This is actually the case in one MS. at Josh. xii. 14. See also Sect. v.

² See Pt. I. Sect. vi.

the result is at once intelligible and satisfactory: PART III.
Hazar-Kinah, "the Kenite enclosure" or "settlement." What can be more natural than that the principal encampment of this people, who, as we have seen, settled near Arad, should be mentioned Judg. i. 16. next to it in this catalogue? Thus, while the reading "Arad," advocated in the previous section, receives additional confirmation from the close proximity of that place to the Kenite settlement, this latter identification is strengthened in its turn by the fact of its coming next in order to the very city in whose neighbourhood we should naturally expect to find it.

The Kenites being a nomadic people, we can ^{Ex. iii. 1.} well understand the employment of the appellative ^{Judg. iv. 11.}

Hazor in combination with their name; nor shall we be far wrong if we identify *Hazar-Kinah* with the ruined site *el-Hudhairah*,¹ and that again, with

¹ It is marked in Dr. Robinson's *Arabic Lists* (Appendix, p. 114,) as in this exact locality. The word is equivalent to the Hebrew *Hazor* (הַצּוֹר), and its cognate *Hudhry* is applied to Arabs who live in villages or *permanent settlements*, as opposed to those wandering tribes who have no fixed habitation (*Bib. Res.* i. p. 305, iii. *Arabic Index*, p. 213). As illustrative of the meaning of *Hazor* (enclosure), when applied to these nomadic villages, it is interesting to find that the *Jehâlin* Arabs arrange their encampment in the form of a circle (*Bib. Res.* ii. p. 468; Wilson's *Lands of the Bible*, ii. p. 710; Van de Velde, ii. p. 83). Further light is thrown on this subject by Burckhardt, who, speaking of the neighbourhood of Damascus, says that the somewhat similar word *Haush* (حاوش) is "an appellation applied to small villages enclosed by a wall, or rather to those whose houses

PART III. the “main encampment” of the *Jehâlîn*, about three miles E.N.E. of Tell ’Arâd, to which I have already referred for a different purpose.¹ Dr. Robinson, in another place, speaks of this “high encampment” as being visible at a distance of fifteen miles further south.² How remarkably does this lofty and conspicuous position illustrate not only Saul’s friendly

¹ Sam. xv. warning, “*Get you down* from among the Amalekites,”
^{6.} but also Balaam’s sublime apostrophe, as, from the
 Num. xxiv. top of Peor, “he looked on the Kenites,” and beheld
^{21, 22.} with prophetic eye their yet future destinies: “Strong
 is thy dwelling-place, and thou puttest thy nest in
 a rock. Nevertheless, Kain³ shall be worsted, until
 Asshur shall carry thee away captive.”⁴

iv. The fourth name in our list is *Dimonah*

join, so as to present by their junction a defence against the Arab robbers. The entrance to the Haush is generally through a strong wooden gate, which is carefully secured every evening” (*Syria*, p. 212).

¹ Pt. I. Sect. v. 2.

² *Bib. Res.* ii. pp. 202, 467, 468, 618. Cf. Irby and Mangles (ch. vii. p. 106. Lond. 1844), who were struck with the position as an unusual one.

³ See margin. The original is קִינָה = קִינָה; both being singular forms of the gentile קִינָה.

⁴ It is not without interest that we observe in the Sinaitic peninsula a valley called Wady *Kineh*, connected with Wady Mukatteb, and an extensive plain of the same name, about fifteen miles to the east, well-watered and “furnishing abundant pasture” (*Bib. Res.* i. pp. 121, 122). These indications of a former Kenite settlement and pasture-ground serve to explain why Moses brought the flock of his Kenite father-in-law so far from Midian, to the “backside (i. e. west) of the desert” (Ex. iii. 1).

(דִימוֹנָה), or, as it is written in Neh. xi. 25, Dibon PART III. (דִיבּוֹן). This serves to illustrate that tendency to commutation which has been remarked in the letters בּ and מּ; thus, conversely, we find the Dibon of Moab once written Dimon.¹ Even there, however, two MSS. and the Vulgate have Dibon, which is the form employed in the ten other passages where it occurs. Judging, then, from analogy, we may regard Dibon as the more correct, as certainly it is the later, mode of spelling this city of the Negeb. This opinion is confirmed by the fact that no name resembling Dimonah is now found in this region; whereas the primary letters of Dibon, with a slender Arabic prefix, are still preserved in the "site of rude foundations and walls, called Eh-deib," on the bank of a wady of the same name, about five miles E.N.E. of Tell 'Arâd.² Nothing, too, could be more appropriate than the situation, whether we consider the order observed in this list or in that of Nehemiah. We can, therefore, have no hesitation in identifying this place with the ruined site Ehdeib or ed-Deib.³

¹ Cf. Isa. xv. 2 with ver. 9. See also Tibneh, the modern name of Timnath, and compare Sects. xii., xv., and xx. of this Part.

² *Bib. Res.* ii. p. 473. Van de Valde's map has *ed-Dheiib*. The omission of the terminal formative מּ is of very common occurrence in modern Arabic forms of Hebrew proper names: as, *e. g.*, in 'Akir (Ekron), Beit-'Ur (Beth-horon), Kesla (Chesalon), Saida (Sidon), Jib (Gibeon).

³ The Septuagint rendering of this word is 'Πεγμά. This would seem to indicate an early corruption of at least some copies of the Hebrew text. So also we find that the ancient MS., No. 1 in Kennicott's *Collation*, reads רְמוֹנָה.

PART III. v. In the name of the fifth city, *Adadah* (עֲדָדָה), we have another instance of the well-known liability of copyists to mistake נ for נ. ¹ The Septuagint is here again of service in guiding us to what is evidently the true reading. It renders the word Ἀροηλ, and at once suggests the identity of this place with the Aroer of Judah, to which, among other cities, David, after his victory over the Amalekites, sent

¹ Sam. xxx. 1, 14, 28.
ver. 31. a share of the spoil. We are expressly told that presents were sent "to all the places where David himself and his men were wont to haunt." These, we know, were situated in the south and east of Judah. Accordingly, about eleven miles S.W. of Tell 'Arâd, we find Wady 'Ar'âr'ah, stretching north-westwards to Beersheba, and south-eastwardly in the direction of Kurnub; described by one traveller as an "extensive down, where several shepherds were feeding their sheep and goats," and by another as a "meadow beautified with herbage and flowers;" and containing "evident traces of an ancient village or town," with an "abundant supply of good water" from more than a dozen wells, resembling those of Bir-es-Seba.² Taking, therefore, into consideration

¹ Thus, in the case of this very name, as applied to a city beyond Jordan, in Num. xxxii. 34, one MS. falls partially into the same mistake, and reads עֲרָעָה.

² Dr. Robinson, ii. p. 618, who is partially corrected by Dr. Wilson (ii. pp. 346, 347, and note). Lord Lindsay's *Letters*, ii. p. 48. Lond. 1839. Van de Velde's account is the fullest (ii. pp. 132—135, 137).

the position of Adadah in the catalogue, the Septuagint PART III. reading, and the notorious liability to error, in respect of these two Hebrew letters, we are fully warranted in regarding Ararah or Aroer as the correct name, and in identifying it with the modern 'Ar'âr'âh, as Dr. Robinson has already suggested with regard to the Aroer of 1 Sam. xxx. 28.¹

vi. The sixth name, *Kedesh* (כֵּדֶשׁ), is one about which we need feel no uncertainty. The Masoretic pointing has somewhat disguised its appearance; but the consonants are the same as in the more familiar Kadesh, and the original pronunciation is doubtless preserved in the Septuagint (Κάδης) and the Vulgate (Cades).² This place has been identified in the most

¹ I am aware that M. de Saulcy claims to have discovered the site of Adadah in "a ruin of imposing appearance, and bearing the name of Qasr el-Adadah," a little to the N.W. of the upper Zuweirah pass. This lively and imaginative traveller is, at the best, not very trustworthy in his Arabic nomenclature, and, at this particular stage of his journey, was compelled by the inclement weather to suspend his topographical observations, and trust chiefly to memory. It is, therefore, somewhat doubtful whether this unsupported testimony of a writer, whose ignorance of Hebrew and Arabic could betray him into such solecisms as confounding Zuweirah with Zoar and edh-Dhullâm with Adullam, should be allowed to outweigh the considerations above adduced in favour of Ararah or Aroer. See, however, more on this point in Sect. x. of this Part.

² Kedesh, on the other hand, seems to be the proper pronunciation of the city of refuge in Naphtali (still called Kédés). The Septuagint, I believe, invariably renders the southern city Κάδης, as above; while the northern one (Kedesh) is sometimes Κάδης, at other times Κάδες, and again Κεδές. The Kedesh (in Issachar) of 1 Chron. vi. 72 appears to have been an early corruption for Kishion, or rather Kishon. Cf. Josh. xix. 20, xxi. 28, with Septuagint.

PART III. satisfactory manner with 'Ain Kădeis, described by its discoverer, Mr. Rowlands, as lying "to the east of the highest part of Jebel Halal, towards its northern extremity, about twelve miles to the E.S.E. of Moilăhi;" or, yet more precisely, "near the point at which the longitude of Khulasah intersects the latitude of 'Ain el Weibeh."¹ Dr. Robinson, whose laboured but most improbable theory respecting the position of Kadesh has met with few admirers among those disposed to think for themselves, little suspected, when he crossed the Wady Abu Retemāt,² that he was on the very site of the Israelitish station (Rithmah),³ corresponding to the *first* sojourn at Kadesh,⁴ and that the remarkable rock in its eastern background, with the pure and copious spring, still bearing its ancient name, marked the very spot which he assigns, with more ingenuity than success, to the marshy jungle with scanty and brackish water, called 'Ain el Weibeh.⁵

¹ Williams's *Holy City*, pp. 488, 491. Prof. Tuch in *Jour. Sac. Lit.* ii. pp. 91—94 (1st series). Dr. Wilson, i. 338, 343, note. See Sect. xxiii. of this Part, for some remarks in reply to Dr. Stewart's objections. The whole question has, I think, been set at rest by the masterly and convincing disquisition of Prof. Kurtz (*Hist. of the Old Covenant*, iii. pp. 216—253. Edinb. 1859).

² *Bib. Res.* i. 279, 280.

³ I had been fully persuaded of this identification many years before I saw it advocated by Prof. Kurtz.

⁴ *Bib. Res.* ii. p. 678. *Jour. Sac. Lit.* vi. p. 270 (1st series), ii. p. 86 (2nd series).

⁵ See Dr. Robinson's own description, ii. 581; and cf. Dr. Wilson, i. p. 338. Lord Lindsay (ii. p. 46) says, "The water stunk, and was full of worms."

vii. The next two names are “*Hazor and Ithnan*” PART III. (יחנן). These, for the reason already given in connection with the third place on our list, coupled with the rendering of the Septuagint (*Ἄσοριων*), we need not scruple to consider as one compound word, improperly divided by some careless or ignorant transcriber.

Reland and Raumer have supposed this to be the same as the Jedna of Eusebius and Jerome, between Hebron and Eleutheropolis, now called Idhna; but both Robinson¹ and Keil² rightly reject this identification, Idhna being altogether removed from the limits of the Negeb.

And yet there is an evident affinity between Ithnan and Idhna, which will render us important service in our search for the site of *Hazar-Ithnan*. It is highly probable that in this latter compound we have a settlement of the Horite Ithran. The letters, it will be observed, are the same, with the exception of the interchangeable liquids **ז** and **נ**.³ Let us see whether this probability of a Horite origin may not become almost a certainty. It has already been shown that the Horite aborigines, like their Idumæan supplacers at a much later period, had possession of a considerable portion of the south

¹ *Bib. Res.* ii. pp. 425, 426, note.

² *Commentary on Joshua*, p. 374.

³ Cf. the modern Solâm for Shunem, Tulluza for Tirzah, Tibnîn for Toron, 'Ain Shems for Ir-shemeah, es-Sumt and es-Sunt, &c.

PART III. of Judah.¹ Now it is well-known that the Horites were so called from their practice of dwelling in caves and subterranean habitations. It may reasonably be expected, therefore, that they will have left permanent traces of their several settlements. Such evidences actually present themselves, not only in the rock-dwellings of Petra, but also in the vast caverns which astonish the traveller at Beit-Jibrîn, Deir Dubbân, Dhikrîn, and Idhna.² The very name Beit-Jibrîn ("house of men") preserves to us the traditional belief that these elaborate excavations were not mere quarries or reservoirs, but human habitations, *i. e.* Horite settlements. Is it, then, irrational to suppose that some traces of the *names* as well as abodes of Horite tribes may yet linger in these modern designations? Thus, while *Dubbân* may represent the ancient Horite "duke" or chieftain *Zibeon*,³ we have in *Dhikrîn* a reminiscence of *Cheran*, another Horite, and in *Idhna*, of his brother *Ithran*,⁴

¹ See Part III. Sect. ii., and compare Josephus and Jerome, cited in *Bib. Res.* ii. p. 424.

² *Bib. Res.* ii. pp. 353, 362, 395—398; iii. p. 10. Van de Velde, ii. pp. 151, 155.

³ Perhaps we may regard the ruin *Sebaan*, near the northern bay of the peninsula of the Dead Sea,—in which M. De Saulcy (i. 428, 483) would fain recognise the doomed *Zeboim*,—as another and doubtless earlier settlement of the Horite *Zibeo* נבוֹז.

⁴ It can scarcely be considered an accidental coincidence, that these two names are preserved, with little alteration, in the ancient site called Deir *Ethneid*, between Gaza and Askelon, and in el-*Heram* or *Haram*, north of Jaffa, where the traveller yet remarks "excavated dwellings at the entrance of the village" (Wylie, *Modern Judaea compared with Ancient Prophecy*, p. 157. Glasg. 1841).

whose earliest settlement we may perhaps look for at PART III. *Dhâneh* (the ancient Thana or Thoana) on a mountain of the same name between Petra and the Dead Sea, now inhabited by the Beni-*Hamid* Arabs.¹ These latter are probably descended from a third brother, *Hemdan*; in which case, we have a further trace of him in the Wady Beni-*Hâmid*, near Sebaan (already mentioned), and his original home may be represented by the *Humra* or *Humran*² Fedan, a long range of rocks in the 'Arabah, situated, as we should naturally expect, in the neighbourhood of the Jebel Dhâneh. We have additional evidence of the number and extension of Horite settlements, in the Mount *Seir* of Josh. xv. 10, and the Beth-*Horon* of Josh. x. 10, 11,—both these places being N.W. of Jerusalem; also, in *Horonaim* of Moab, a country to which Isa. xv. 5. we have already been referred more than once in this investigation; while, on the modern map, we have *Sa'îr*, a small village N.N.E. of Hebron, and *Sa'îrah*, a ruined site not far to the N. of the excavations of Deir Dubbân.³

Enough, perhaps, has been said to prove that the Horites left permanent vestiges of their occupancy of southern Palestine; which event, I con-

¹ Burchhardt, *Syria*, pp. 407, 410.

² This would answer to *Hamran*, the other form of this name, given in 1 Chron. i. 41.

³ See, however, another, and very probable, etymology proposed for *Sa'îrah* in Sect. xxviii.

PART III. ceive, should be assigned to an age long anterior to the Jewish exile (the commonly received opinion), either to the times of the patriarchs themselves,¹ or, at the latest, to that period when the Edomites, gradually gaining the ascendancy, compelled the aborigines to move northwards in quest of fresh settlements. We have glanced at one or two on the eastern heights of the Dead Sea. Traces of their westward progress may be discerned in the remarkable cavern at Usdum,² in a similar one at er-Ramâl,³ and in the remains at Makhûl, of which Dr. Robinson says that they "consist of little more than a few caves in the side of the hill. Indeed (he adds) *such caverns constitute the chief mark of several ancient sites in this region.*"⁴ Immediately to the west of Makhûl, the hills take the name of Jebel el-*Hhora*, with a town of the same name;⁵ and in the plain north of Beersheba, between Lukiyeh and Khuweilifeh, Van de Velde passed a "considerable ancient stronghold," also called *Hhora*.⁶ It is in this place,—bearing in its very name indubitable marks of its Horite origin, communicating by a direct

¹ See Sect. ii.

² *Bib. Res.* ii. p. 485.

³ De Saulcy, i. 540, 544.

⁴ *Bib. Res.* ii. p. 624. See a similar observation at p. 472, in reference to Jenbeh, el-Kuryetein and el-Beyûdh.

⁵ Zimmermann's *Map*, Part vii.

⁶ *Syria and Palestine*, ii. p. 141. Cf. Dr. Stewart (p. 217), who calls it Khurbet *Khôurah*.

road with Idhna, which is about fifteen miles to the PART III. north, and yet itself within the proper limits of the Negeb,—that I would fix the site of Hazar-Ithnan.

viii. The next word, *Ziph*, has all the appearance of being an interpolation. (1) It is the only name in the list (the first, of course, excepted), which is not preceded by a *vau*: a fact at once suggestive of the idea of an intruder, which has not yet adjusted itself in its new position; it does not seem at home. (2) There is no trace of it in that valuable witness to the early state of the Hebrew text, the Septuagint. This circumstance, although insufficient of itself to condemn the word, yet, coupled with other suspicious appearances, is very significant. (3) We find no mention elsewhere of a *Ziph* in the south of Judah, nor has it left any vestige of itself in the modern Arabic nomenclature of this region; whereas, in the case of a *Ziph* which we *know* to have existed in the Hill-country, we have the corroborative testimony, ver. 55.

not only of Scripture history,¹ but of extant remains still bearing the name.² (4) It would be difficult to harmonize the number of cities with the sum total specified in ver. 32, unless *Ziph* be either joined to the preceding *Hazar-Ithnan*,—the result being a very unusual and unintelligible combination,—or else rejected as a spurious interpolation. To this

¹ 1 Sam. xxiii. 14—24, xxvi. 1, 2; Ps. liv. title.

² Bib. Res. ii. pp. 190, 191.

PART III. latter alternative we seem driven by the united force of so many considerations. I shall venture, therefore, to consider Ziph as having been accidentally introduced from the fifty-fifth verse at a period subsequent to the Greek translation, and proceed at once to the next name, *Telem* (תֵּלֶם). This I cannot but regard, with Kimchi, Raumer, and others, as identical with the *Telaim* (תֵּלָיִם) of 1 Sam. xv. 4; notwithstanding the objection of Keil, founded, apparently, on the difference of pointing. The consonants of the two words, (including the uncommon *teth*) are precisely the same, and the second would seem to be merely the fuller form of the first.¹ Moreover, the position of *Telem*, in the Negeb, exactly agrees with that of *Telaim*, as the rendezvous of Saul's army before marching against the Amalekites, who "dwelt in the land of the south."² This latter circumstance will materially assist us in determining the situation; for Saul would naturally choose a spot where the principal routes from north, east, and west converged in the direction of the Amalekite territory. Only one such place is to be found; viz., at *el-Kuseir*, about four miles S. of 'Ar'âr'ah, where the junction of the Wadys es-Seba', el-Khulil, 'Ar'âr'ah, Milh, &c., brings together the various roads from

¹ We are similarly in the habit of contracting names of places:—e. g., Brighthelmstone into Brighton, Pontefract into Pomfret, Kirkcudbright (pronounced Kirkclobree).

² Num. xiii. 29. See Pt. I. Sect. v. and ix.; Pt. III. Sect. xxiv.

Beersheba, Gaza, Hebron, Carmel (Saul's own route), PART III.
 and many other places, and thus gives convenient ^{1 Sam. xv.}
access to all parts of the country. Now, it is a most ^{12.}
 interesting fact, that this very spot is occupied by the
 Arab tribe *Dhullām* (دُلَّم); a word identical with
 Telem in its consonants and with Telaim in its
 principal vowel also. Dr. Robinson found an en-
 campment of this tribe near Museik,¹ about four
 miles E. of Arad, and informs us that "these Arabs,
 in the spring, pasture in this tract in common with
 the *Jehālīn*; *their proper territory lies further west*
towards Beersheba, where both they and the *Tiyāhah*
 water in common."² Elsewhere, he incidentally re-
 marks that their cemetery is at Milh,³ and their
 principal watering-place at 'Ar'ār'ah.⁴ This last cir-

¹ It is a curious coincidence that Museik or Mesech (for the words are the same) was a place of encampment for Arabs as long ago as the time of David: "Woe is me, that I sojourn in Mesech, that I dwell (or rather "tabernacle,") in the tents of Kedar!" (Ps. cxx. 5.) The situation of Museik agrees exactly with the known direction of David's wanderings.

² *Bib. Res.* ii. p. 473.

³ *Ib.* ii. p. 620.

⁴ *Ib.* ii. p. 618. Lord Lindsay, speaking of 'Ar'ār'ah (which he erroneously identifies with Gerar, misled by a dialectic variation in pronouncing the first letter,) says, "Quite a patriarchal scene presented itself as we drew near to the wells; the Bedouins were watering their flocks,—two men at each well letting down the skins, and pulling them up again with quick, savage shouts,—and then emptying them into the troughs; the shepherdesses stood aloof, and veiled their faces, seeing the strange *howagis*. The several flocks, coming up and retiring in the exactest order, were a beautiful sight" (*Letters, &c.*, ii. p. 48).

PART III. cumstance is especially important, as indicating that the headquarters of the tribe are not far distant. If, then, the proposed identification is based on sound principles, we may confidently look for ruins at el-Kuseir connected with the name of Dhullâm. Now, what are the facts of the case? "At 3^h. 5' (writes Dr. Robinson) we passed *the foundations of a former village of unhewn stones*, now called el-Kuseir (little castle) from a small structure near the foot of the hill, which may have been a tower. *This tract belongs to the Dhullâm.*"¹ We need have little hesitation, therefore, in regarding this as the site of Telem; and if, as is not unlikely, we are to look for the root of the word in 'לָם, which, with its cognate Arabic, signifies "dew" or "small rain," we have a happy illustration of its significance in the language of Dr. Wilson, who, when three miles S. of el-Kuseir, thus writes: "The thick mists and heavy dews of this morning were decided indications to us that we had escaped from the dreadful drought of the desert, and entered on the fertile elevated plains of the south of Judah."² Dr. Robinson, when almost at the same spot, expresses himself very similarly: "We rose early, and found ourselves enveloped in

¹ *Bib. Res.* ii. p. 617. Cf. Dr. Wilson, i. p. 345, whose notice of this "old ruin," which he calls *Kasr es-Sir*, is marked by strange inaccuracies and absurd conjectures, unworthy of his reputation.

² *Lands of the Bible*, i. p. 344.

a thick fog, the first we had yet *felt* in Palestine."¹ PART III.
 If, however, the fuller form Telaim suggests rather a derivation from טלה or טלי, (pl. טלאים), "a tender lamb," including, in the cognate Arabic, "the young of any animal, especially of the gazelle,"—the etymological requirements are equally fulfilled in the wild yet pastoral character of this district,² where Abraham fed his flocks, and Esau hunted for venison.³

ix. The ninth name on the list is *Bealoth* (בעלות). This is evidently the place referred to in Josh. xix. 8: "And all the villages that were round about these cities to *Baalath-beer*, Ramath of the south." The fuller designation is there naturally given, as the object of the sacred writer is to define the extreme limits of that portion of Judah which was afterwards assigned to Simeon.

There were so many Ramahs in Palestine,—the term aptly describing different "heights" of that "land of valleys and hills,"—that it was usual to Deut. viii. append some other word in order to discriminate between them; hence the compounds Ramath-Mizpeh, Ramath-Lehi, Ramah of Samuel, Ramoth-Gilead, and here, Ramath (or Ramoth)⁴ Negeb.

¹ *Bib. Res.* ii. p. 619. The italics are his. He had then been nearly two months in the country.

² See Lord Lindsay, just cited. Also, Dr. Wilson, i. pp. 344—347. Van de Velde, ii. pp. 128—135.

³ Beersheba is only about ten miles distant to the north-west.

⁴ Four good MSS. read here, as all do at 1 Sam. xxx. 27, *Ramoth*-Negeb.

PART III. In the similar but later account contained in 1 Chron. iv. 28—33, it is simply Baal (בעל); the altered circumstances making it no longer necessary that the full name should be repeated.

We find a further reference to it in 1 Sam. xxx. 27, where, as “South Ramoth” (*i. e.* Ramoth of the South), it occurs with Jattir, Aroer, and other cities of southern Judah to which David sent presents.

Once more, its position as a frontier city enables us to fix on this as the Baalath which was fortified by Solomon;¹ inasmuch as it furnishes an adequate motive for his so doing.

We have now a number of landmarks to guide us in our researches: (1) We should expect to find it in the neighbourhood of Telem, the last-mentioned city of our list; a direction which is also suggested by the passage in 1 Sam. (2) From the distinctive language of Joshua,—“and all the villages (literally, the *Hazerim*, or ‘pastoral enclosures’) that were round about these cities, unto (עַד ‘as far as’) Baalath-Beer, a height of the Negeb,”—we may reasonably infer that this was one of the *limits* of the Simeonite territory. (3) The adjunct *Beer* denotes an artificial supply of living water in such abundance as to make it a place of importance in that arid region. (4) The term *Ramoth* implies a “chain of heights,” not rising to the elevation of

¹ 1 Kings ix. 18; 2 Chron. viii. 6.

mountains—for then **נָסָר** would be the appropriate PART III. word, and that would be inconsistent with the physical features of the Negeb—but yet of sufficient magnitude to make it a conspicuous boundary line. (5) Lastly, as one of Solomon's fortified cities, we have a right to expect that it shall occupy a strong strategical position, and that no inconsiderable remains of defensive works shall yet exist.

Now I conceive that everyone of these conditions is fulfilled in the ruined site, called *Kurnub*, on the southern declivity of the 'swell or low ridge' which bears the name of *Kubbet el-Baul*.¹

(1) It closely adjoins el-Kuseir, belonging to the Dhullām, which we have identified with Telem, and which is in the same wady as 'Ar'ār'ah. (2) It is just above the "long mountain ridge" which forms a natural boundary between the cultivated land and the sandy tract occupied by the Sa'idiyeh Arabs. Dr. Robinson writes thus of this precise spot: "In passing over this open tract or basin, we saw traces of grass, now dried up (June 3) *Here was the first appearance of soil* indeed, the vestiges of ancient cultivation *began* to be everywhere visible."² (3) Dr. Robinson did not actually visit Kurnub; he had only a distant view of it through his telescope. "We could distinctly see the ruins (he writes)

¹ *Bib. Res.* ii. 617. Dr. Wilson writes it Kabbet el-Bali (i. p. 344).

² *Ib.* ii. pp. 614—617.

PART III. covering a low hill near the Wady; our guides said there was here *living water in pits*; and on that account they had been very desirous to reach this spot the evening before."¹ Lord Lindsay, who personally explored it, found "*a strong dam* in a ravine south of the town;" and so marked were the indications of water, that his companion, Dr. M^oLennan, "thinks that a *lake* existed to the north and west of it."² Lieut. Van de Velde, after ascending to the desert plateau of the Sa'idiyeh, already referred to, by a more easterly pass than that usually taken (evidently the Nukb el-Em'az), suffered greatly from thirst, and was told by his Bedawîn that "*except at Kurnub there was not a drop of water in the whole desert.*" When at length he reached that place, he forgot his privations in the "*comparatively copious supply of water*" with which, even in its present ruined and neglected state, Kurnub greets the parched traveller. What it formerly was, in this respect, is manifest from his description: "*A mountain stream* runs to the west of these ruins Above this, about 500 yards distant, is the *course of a river* dammed up by a wall, so that the bed above the wall forms a natural (?) *tank*, from which the town appears to have been supplied with water. The tank, however, we found quite dry and filled up with sand. At some little distance was another *clear deep pool of*

¹ *Bib. Res.* ii. p. 616.

² *Letters*, ii. p. 47.

*water in a cavity among the rocks.*¹ (4) And then, PART III. what can more strikingly illustrate the singular form *Ramath-Negeb* (Josh.) than the Arabic prefix *Kubbeh*, which signifies a “dome” or “rounded summit” (whence, through the Spanish, our word *alcove*) ; or the plural *Ramoth* (1 Sam.), than the “low ridge or line of hills” as it appeared at the distance of an hour.² (5) Its importance as a military position is evident at a moment’s inspection of the map. Itself at the head of the most frequented of the passes³ by which central Palestine is approached from the south-east, it is so situated as to command them all ; being near the apex of the triangle formed by the converging routes. That such a position was fully appreciated in the olden time, is obvious from the character of the present remains. Lord Lindsay found “extensive ruins of an ancient *walled town*.⁴ Dr. Wilson also recognised its antiquity, and says, “the place has evidently at one time been *surrounded by a wall*.⁵ And Van de Velde crowns this concurrent testimony by observing that “*the walls of a fortified town are yet standing.*”⁶ (6) The chain

¹ *Syria and Palestine*, ii. pp. 127, 131, 132.

² *Bib. Res.* ii. p. 615.

³ That of the Wady el-Yemen (*Bib. Res.* ii. pp. 587, 588, 593, 616). In this “Valley of the South” have we not a still existing trace of the old word “Negeb,” which yet further strengthens our identification of Kurnub with “Ramath of the South”?

⁴ *Letters*, ii. p. 47.

⁵ *Lands of the Bible*, i. p. 342.

⁶ *Syria and Palestine*, ii. p. 130.

PART III. of evidence is complete when we consider the affinity which cannot but be admitted between the names *Baal* (or *Baalath*) and *Baul* (or *Bali*).¹

Lord Lindsay's theory, which identifies Kurnub with Elusa, has been satisfactorily disposed of by Dr. Robinson, who proves that the latter is represented by the modern Khulasah. I agree, however, with Van de Velde in thinking that the learned Professor's own hypothesis, which makes Kurnub identical with Tamar or Thamara, is founded on insufficient data; and greatly prefer that of De Saulcy, which fixes Tamar at the ruined site with copious spring at the mouth of Wady Mubughik; although my reasons for arriving at this conclusion are by no means the same as some of those which he adduces.

The following are the grounds on which I venture to doubt the accuracy of Dr. Robinson's identification:

(1) Eusebius and Jerome state that "to those who travelled from Hebron to Ailah ('Akabah), Thamara lay at a distance of one day's journey from Malatha." Now, it is not asserted in this passage (which I have translated literally) that Thamara and Malatha were on the same line of route; we should

¹ The falling away of the *Ain* is not without precedent: *e.g.*, el-Jib (Gibeon), Yâfa (Japhia), Jelbôn (Gilboa), Jufna (Ophni), Shera (Seir). In fact the extreme tenacity of this letter, on which Dr. Robinson so continually insists, is more imaginary than real. Witness its interchange with *Aleph*, in 'Askulân (Askelon), Tell 'Ashtereh (Ashtaroth); with *Yod*, in 'Attir (Jattir); with *Heth*, in *Beit-'Ur* (Beth-horon), 'Asûr (Hazor), Zânûâ' (Zanoah).

naturally infer the very reverse. Indeed, it is not PART III. unusual for Eusebius and Jerome, when laying down the position of a place, to mention, not only the two termini of the route on which that place was situated, but also some city, of about the same latitude, belonging to *another* route. Thus, *e. g.*, they speak of Malatha as "four Roman miles distant from Arad, on the way from Hebron to Ailah;" *i. e.*, Malatha, on the line between Hebron and Ailah, was four miles from Arad, the nearest place of importance *on another road*.

(2) Kurnub is only 5^h 50', *i. e.* about 13 or 14 Roman miles from Milh; which scarcely justifies Dr. Robinson in calling it "an ordinary day's journey,"¹ if we may judge from his published *Itinerary*: whereas the Kul'at el-Mubughik is 22 or 23 Roman miles distant,—about the average of the Doctor's own journeys.

(3) He alludes vaguely to Ptolemy and the Peutinger tables, which, he says, mention Thamara "in the same quarter" as Kurnub. Without professing to attach much importance to calculations based on Ptolemy's latitudes and longitudes,—which, however, M. de Saulcy assures us, favour the Mubughik hypothesis,—I certainly think that the specifications of the Peutinger tables (68 or 69 Roman miles from Rabbath-Moab to Thamara, thence to Jerusalem 53

¹ *Bib. Res.* ii. p. 623.

PART III. miles) agree remarkably with the distances by the ancient and yet traceable road from Rabba to Wady Mubughik (*via* Wadys Tufleh and Kuseib, so as to avoid the marshes), and thence to Jerusalem. Moreover, it seems incredible that any one, wishing to proceed from Moab to Jerusalem, would take the difficult and circuitous route of the Sufâh pass (which the Kurnub hypothesis requires), when there was the much shorter and easier one skirting the Dead Sea.¹

(4) While the remains both of Kurnub and Kul'at el-Mubughik bespeak a military position, those of the latter are of a much more decidedly *Roman* character.²

Ez. xlviij.
18, 19.
ver. 11.

(5) The mention of Tamar by Ezekiel, leads us to look for it close to the Dead Sea, at the S.E. extremity of Palestine Proper, the salt and marshy tract being excluded; not as Dr. Robinson, warped by his Kadesh and Kurnub theories, would have us believe, in a central position, "from which the southern border of the land was to be measured, on one side to Kadesh, and on the other to the western

¹ It is not quite certain whether the ancient road led up Wady Mubughik, and thus, avoiding the *lower* Zuweirah pass, proceeded *via* the upper Zuweirah and Hebron to Jerusalem; or whether it was carried over the Jebel Hudhrûr, and so along the shore to Engedi. The latter alternative is favoured by 2 Chron. xx. 1, 2; while the former is rendered probable by Van de Velde's *Map*, which represents the Mubughîk as but a continuation of Wady er-Ramâil. Further exploration may set this question at rest.

² See De Saulcy, and Sect. ix., *supra*.

sea."¹ This most unnatural gloss only strengthens PART III. my convictions as to the true sites both of Kadesh and Thamara.

(6) Its very name (Tamar), implying abundance of Palm-trees, compels us to assign it to the neighbourhood of the Dead Sea. "The Palm-tree (says Dr. Kitto) is an evergreen, which, to attain perfection, requires a hot climate, with a soil sandy, yet humid, and somewhat nitreous."² Nowhere are these conditions so completely fulfilled as within the precincts of the Ghôr: hence, the world-wide fame of the palm-groves of Jericho, Engedi, and Idumæa; hence, too, the very scanty notices of this tree in connection with other parts of Palestine,—proving that it was by no means common throughout the country.³ Indeed, the very fact of its giving name to certain localities is an evidence of its rarity.

How much more natural, therefore, is it to fix the site of Tamar or Thamara at the delta of Wady Mubughîk, with its tropical climate and fertile soil, where, even yet, are counted "trees of ten different species;"⁴ than on the exposed and elevated steppe, destitute of soil, and incapable of cultivation,⁵ where Dr. Robinson would fain persuade us to look for it.

¹ *Bib. Res.* ii. p. 622. ² *Phys. Hist. of Pal.*, p. ccxxiv.

³ It is not mentioned in the parable of the Trees (Judg. ix. 8—15); nor was its produce sufficiently abundant to require an officer to superintend its ingathering (1 Chron. xxvii. 28).

⁴ De Saulcy, i. p. 254.

⁵ *Bib. Res.* ii. pp. 615—617.

PART III. x. It is generally agreed among critics that the next two names *Hazor Hadattah* (חזרה), which are arbitrarily separated in our version by a comma, constitute but one word; as we have seen to be the case with Hazar-Kinah and Hazar-Ithnan. Here, however, the second name, instead of being that of a person or tribe, would seem to be merely an adjective. Both the Septuagint and Vulgate render “*New Hazor*.” And so we find חזרה, in Ezra vi. 4, as the Chaldee form of the Hebrew שׁׂׂרָר, which signifies “new.” Rothenmüller accounts for the word being Aramaic and not pure Hebrew, by supposing that this place was founded by Phœnicians or Syrians. After all, it may have been an early Hebrew form, afterwards superseded by שׁׂׂרָר. However this may be, I am disposed to fix its site about two miles N.W. of the upper Zuweirah pass, where M. De Saulcy found, “on the summit of a hill, a ruin of imposing appearance, and bearing the name of *Qasr el-Adadah*.¹ This he took to be the Adadah of our list.² But, inasmuch as various considerations have been adduced, tending to show that Ararah or Aroer is the true reading of that word; as Adadah is nowhere else referred to; and as the lively and ingenious traveller, who is our sole authority, was a very imperfect Arabic scholar; it is not unlikely that the name he heard was that of which we are in

¹ De Saulcy, i. p. 544.

2 Sect. V.

search, and which, it will be observed, differs very PART III. slightly in sound from Adadah. In the absence of the actual Arabic word, and of all mention of the place by any other traveller, we have only the sound as it fell on his ear, and was recorded from memory under very unfavourable circumstances, to guide us. With regard to the first word, Qasr (or Kusr), which means "castle," when we take into account the universally recognised tendency of unintelligible words to merge into known and significant ones, it is not at all improbable that it was originally Hazor, which would only require the change of a single principal letter.¹ Moreover, its situation, at the head of the important pass of ez-Zuweirah, serves to explain why it should immediately follow Bealoth (Kurnub), which stands in a similar relation to the only other main route by which central Palestine is approached from the south-east.

xi. There is doubtless much truth in the observation, that while *Hazor*, prefixed to the name of a place, indicates its *pastoral* character, the prefix *Kir*, *Kirjath*, or *Kerioth*, bespeaks *military* occupation, and, like the Welsh *Caer*, implies a "fortress" or "stronghold."² Many examples of both words

¹ We have other instances of the kind in Yâsûr, which is believed to represent a more westerly Hazor (*Bib. Res.* ii. p. 370, note); and in Azur, near Kedes, doubtless the Hazor of Jabin (Zimmermann's *Map* in Ritter, Erdk.). See also Yâkûk for Hukkok.

² Hengstenberg's *Egypt and the Books of Moses*, p. 76. Edinb. 1845. Parkhurst, *Heb. Lex.*, sub voce.

PART III. are found in the chapter before us;¹ the Hazors, as we should expect, all occurring in the pastoral plains of the Negeb, while, with equal appropriateness, the Kirjaths (with one exception) are confined to the Hill-country, so naturally adapted for works of defence.

The single exception is the place which stands eleventh on our list; where, it will be observed, both words appear in combination: “*And Kerioth-Hezron* (קְרִיּוֹת-הַצְרוֹן), *which is Hazor-Amam* (חַזּוֹר-אַמָּם). It has been already shown that Hazor, as a mere appellative, is to be taken with the word following. We are, therefore, to understand the sacred writer as giving us not only the actual name of the eleventh city, but that which it bore previously to its conquest by the Anakim; just as, in the 13th verse of this chapter, he speaks of the “city of Arba (literally, Kirjath-Arba) which is Hebron,”—*i. e.* formerly known by the name of Hebron.²

We are fully warranted, then, in inferring that this place, which was originally a pastoral settlement

¹ For *Hazor*, see vv. 23, 25, 27, 28; for *Kirjath*, see vv. 13, 15, 25, 49, 54, 60. As Hebron was named *Kirjath-Arba* from Arba, “a great man among the Anakim” (Josh. xiv. 15), we may reasonably infer that the term is of Anakite origin, and, whenever employed, indicates the presence and ascendancy of that gigantic people.

² Gen. xiii. 18, Num. xiii. 22. See Hengstenberg *On the Pentateuch*, ii. pp. 152—157. Edinb. 1847; where he proves that Hebron was the primitive name, which, having been supplanted by Kirjath-Arba, was restored by the Israelites.

of the earliest inhabitants, had been taken and for- PART III.
tified by the Anakim, and was eventually conquered
by the tribe of Judah; who added the name of
Hezron, in honour of the father of two of their most
distinguished worthies, Jerahmeel and Caleb, to each
of whom a portion of the Negeb was assigned by
Joshua.¹ I need scarcely say how exactly these
specifications agree with the position of *el-Kuryetein*,
so hesitatingly suggested by Dr. Robinson as possi-
bly identical with Kerioth. He is unable, how-
ever, to see the essential connection of the latter with
Hezron;² although supported by most of the Versions,
as well as by the *usus loquendi*. This connection
is, to a certain extent, admitted by Reland and Keil;
but the very natural and obvious combination of
Amam with Hazor as the original name, which I
venture to advocate, does not appear to have occurred
to any previous writer. And yet many consider-
ations concur to establish the soundness of this ar-
rangement.

(1) The *plural* termination *Kerioth* implies a
number of closely contiguous cities, forming one
confederate whole; an idea not altogether lost in the
modern *Kuryetein* (= Heb. *Kiriathaim*) signifying
“the two cities,” or “the double city.”³ This view
is strikingly corroborated by M. De Sauley’s map,

¹ See Pt. I. Sections viii. and ix.

² *Bib. Res.* ii. p. 472, note.

³ See, however, Sect. xxviii.

PART III. which, at this particular point, is more minutely laid down than either Kiepert's or Zimmermann's. It exhibits a remarkable group of heights, six or eight in number, covered with ruins of no ordinary character, and extending northwards from el-Kuryetein for nearly two miles. They form an oval enclosure, not exceeding 300 yards at its greatest breadth, and contracting at each extremity to a mere defile. This valley, or rather basin, is "irrigated by a rivulet which seems to flow at all seasons permanently, instead of being accidentally formed by the periodical rains."¹ We can now see with what perfect propriety such a group might be regarded, in one sense, as *many cities* (Kerioth), while, in another point of view, they constituted but *one enclosure* (Hazor).

(2) The Anakite origin of the name suggests, as we have seen, proximity to the Hill-country; in precise accordance with which, Dr. Robinson describes el-Kuryetein and Jenbeh, the two principal "sites of ruins," as "*at the foot of the mountain.*"²

(3) We have a right to expect marked strategical advantages, as well as traces of fortifications; both of which are indicated by the military appellative Kerioth. No traveller, I believe, has as yet closely inspected the ruins of el-Kuryetein; for it lies two or three miles to the west of the ordinary route. De Saulcy, however, says, "Judging by the account of

¹ De Saulcy, i. pp. 546, 553.

² *Bib. Res.* ii. p. 472.

our Arabs, the ruins . . . are very considerable, and PART III. denote . . . the former existence of an important town." Passing onwards, this traveller soon reached Jenbeh, where he found "avenues of stones fixed on end, similar (he adds) to those we have observed in Moab,¹ . . . coming down from the neighbouring hills, upon which are described also numerous vestiges of buildings of a *very remote antiquity*, judging by the rudeness of their construction. On the summit of the hillock of Jenbeh is *a kind of enclosure*, formed by a wall of rocks, from one to two yards and upwards in height. Some of these rocks, detached from the mass, are disposed almost after the fashion of a Celtic or Druidical *Tolmen*, a fact which excited our intense surprise. The ground is strewed with fragments of red fluted pottery, of a *very antique character*." Beyond Jenbeh, the valley, now narrowed to a "pass," is "intercepted at right angles by six or seven *ancient walls* of the roughest construction. On the left flank of this defile, the ascent of which is rather difficult, appear some scattered ruins. Towards the summit, *a long*

¹ This incidental comparison is very interesting, and greatly strengthens the opinion already expressed, that the use of *Kir*, in its various forms, essentially implies Anakite supremacy. For (1) the Kirs are unprecedentedly numerous in Moab; witness Gen. xiv. 5; Num. xxii. 39, xxxii. 37; 2 Kings iii. 25; Isa. xv. 1, xvi. 7, 11; Jer. xlvi. 1, 23, 24, 31, 36, 41; Amos ii. 2. And (2) they are directly associated with that giant race who, under the names of Rephaim, Anakim, Zuzim, and Emin, formerly held powerful sway on both sides of the Jordan valley.

PART III. *and ancient wall* borders the right of our path, on the flank of the hill on the same side." A little further north, he finds himself "in front of *huge ruins* that cover the western face of the hill, on the left-hand, which we have been winding along for the last ten minutes. These ruins consist of *long rows of primitive walls*, crossing each other at right-angles, and more than 500 yards in length. Resting upon, and adjoining one of these walls, is *a vast quadrangular enclosure*. Beyond, a small plain, 500 yards in extent, is strewed with ruins, and approached by several wide avenues of stones, placed upright." As he proceeds, "these ruins (he writes) are still lying along the line of our march, and we pass by a double avenue of stones, in excellent preservation, for above thirty yards. Then a single avenue, turning to the north-west, through a small glen, thirty yards wide, leads up to *a circular enclosure, constructed with very large stones, and crowning the summit of a high cliff*."¹

(4) We have already seen how appropriately these "cities of *Hezron*" are placed, in relation to the portions of the Negeb assigned to his sons Jerahmeel and Caleb respectively.

(5) Finally, there is every reason to believe that Hazor (or, as it is in regimen, Hazar) -Amam (אַמָּם), like Hazar-Ithnan, was a *Horite* settlement. We find a chieftain of that race called *Hemam* (הִמָּם)

¹ De Saulcy, i. pp. 546—555.

or *Homam* (הַוָּמָם); a word which differs but slightly PART III. from *Amam*.¹ We have elsewhere² tracked these ancient Troglodytes, by means of a cursory remark of Dr. Robinson, to this very spot. Let us now observe the more precise language of M. De Saulcy, whose graphic description of this part of his route leaves nothing to be desired:—"The rivulet (before mentioned) winds round a vast rocky cliff, *on the sides of which are excavated several grottoes*, and presenting over its entire surface evident signs of ancient habitations. This place is called Jenbeh. . . . The *caves* of Jenbeh are used at the present day as stables by the wandering tribes who visit this district; and we find there, to our great satisfaction, two or three Bedawîn, with a flock of sheep." Proceeding northwards, he adds, "we descry, on the right and left banks of the small ravine we are following, and at the bottom of which is a running stream, some ruins and *several caves, evidently excavated in the rock by human hands.*"³

I need not say how suggestive these notices are of

¹ The slender initial *ת* might easily be replaced by *ת*, as is indeed frequently the case at the *end* of words: *e.g.*, Hoglah (Hajla), Kanah (Kâna), Rabbah (Rabba), Shittah (Shûtta), Jabneh (Yebna), Juttah (Yutta). There is a similar tendency both in *yod* and *vau* to change into *aleph*: *e.g.*, Ophni (Jufna), Ai ('Aya), Medebah or Midebah (Mâdebeh). Also, Eglon (Ajlân), Askelon ('Askulân), Dagon (Dejan), Acco ('Akka), Dibon (Dhîbân), Maon (Ma'ân), Nebo (Neba), Zidon (Saida), Japho (Yâfa).

² Pt. II. Sect. vii.

³ De Saulcy, i. pp. 546—553.

PART III. Horite occupation; and will only add, that if this is to be regarded as an outlying possession of Hemam, the parent settlement may be looked for at the ruined site, considerably south of Petra, called *el-Humeiyimeh* or *Ameineh*.¹

xii. The twelfth city is *Shema* (שְׁמָעַ), according to the present Hebrew text. The reading of the Sept. (Σαλμαὰ) would seem, however, to show that the word was originally שְׁלָמָעַ (Shalma or Salma), which, being an uncommon name, might easily be mistaken by a copyist for the more usual שְׁמָעַ; especially if transposition had chanced to take place, when שְׁלָמָעַ, as an unintelligible combination, would almost inevitably merge into שְׁמָעַ.²

But something more than mere probability may be urged in favour of the Sept. rendering.

¹ *Bib. Res.* ii. p. 572. According to Laborde, who alone appears to have visited it, the place is "full of cisterns." Qy., excavated dwellings?

² The only two Hebrew proper names at all resembling this have similarly suffered from transcription. *Salma*, the father of Boaz, is variously written שְׁלָמָה, שְׁלָמָן, and שְׁלָמָון (1 Chron. ii. 11, 51, 54. Ruth iv. 20, 21). And *Shalmi* (שְׁלָמִי), the name of one of the Nethinim (Neh. vii. 47), has been corrupted by transposition into שְׁמָלִי in the parallel passage, Ezra ii. 46. Cf. the *Keri*, and many of the best MSS. of Kennicott. The Vulgate, also, has the erroneous lection in Ezra: but the Sept. is right in both places; an additional testimony to its value as an authority in doubtful readings. In proof of the extreme commonness of *Shema* as a proper name, I may add that a cursory examination brings to light no less than eleven modifications of the word, comprising upwards of thirty distinct individuals.

(1) No place answering to Shema has been PART III. hitherto proposed by geographers. Keil indeed cites, with qualified approval, the hypothesis of Capellus and Reland, which identifies it with the Sheba of Josh. xix. 2; the only two grounds for such opinion being, that it precedes Moladah in both passages of Joshua, and that the labials *ו* and *ע* are frequently interchanged. But, as Keil himself observes, "the fact that Moladah follows directly, both in the present passage and in ch. xix. 2, does not warrant us in pronouncing the two places identical. Nor is the order quite the same, as Beersheba is mentioned there before Moladah."¹ Moreover, when we consider that the word Sheba is altogether wanting in the parallel list of 1 Chron. iv. 28, and that its presence in Josh. xix. 2 deranges the number of cities specified in ver. 6, making the sum total 14 instead of 13; it is far more natural to conclude, with Le Clerc, that Sheba is an interpolation, arising from a repetition of part of the preceding word,—a well-known and fruitful source of error in transcription.²

¹ *Com. on Joshua*, pp. 375, 420.

² The only other hypothesis, connected with Shema, with which I am acquainted, is that of Lord Lindsay; to which I am almost ashamed to refer, so many and gross are the inaccuracies crowded into a single sentence. Speaking of Semū'a, he says, "This place I take to be the ancient Shema, enumerated in the book of Numbers among the cities of the Hill-country of Judah" (ii. p. 49). Now it so happens, that the enumeration in question occurs in the book of *Joshua*, not *Numbers* ;—that Shema is one of the cities of the *South*, not of the *Hill-country* ;—and that the city intended by his lordship

PART III. (2) While the attempts to deal with this word in its Hebrew form have been thus unsuccessful, the same cannot, I think, be said of the Greek rendering. Judging from its relative position on our list—between Kerioth-Hezron and Moladah—we should naturally look for it midway, *i. e.* in the neighbourhood of Arad. Accordingly, about five miles E.S.E. of that place, is a “site of ruins and a mound or low Tell called *Rujeim Selâmeh*” (cairn or mound of Selâmeh).¹ From Van de Velde’s fuller account we learn that this “ruin” is situated in a “*basin formed by some green hills*, known among the Bedawin as *Wady er-Ramâil* (valley of Jerahmeel); and that the space enclosed within “*this group of hills*” is a favourite camping-ground of the *Jehâlin* Arabs.² In this he is confirmed by De Saulcy, who, speaking apparently of the same wady, describes it as a “shallow ravine,” and the adjacent country as the “*Belad er-Ramâil*.” “Antique barriers (he says), made of large stones, everywhere intersect the ravine, and very distinguishable ruins are scattered all around. We are assuredly on the site of a town contemporary with the Scriptural ages.”³

(3) This site appropriately follows that which is evidently *Shamir* not *Shema*. Such blunders, if venial in a letter, are scarcely to be tolerated in a publication. Dr. Robinson has since shown that *Semû'a* is really to be identified with *Eshtemoh* (*Bib. Res.* ii. pp. 194, 626, 627).

¹ *Bib. Res.* ii. pp. 473, 474.

² Van de Velde, ii. pp. 84, 85. ³ De Saulcy, i. pp. 540, 541.

we have identified as Kerioth-Hezron, closely resembling it as it does in its physical characteristics. While both, however, give us a vivid idea of the "Hazors" of old: the former testifies also to the changes superinduced by military occupation; whereas the latter exhibits at the present moment a scene essentially the same as that which met the eye of Abraham or Caleb, when these "pastoral enclosures" were dotted over the whole Negeb. "At the foot of the knolls of Wady er-Ramail (writes Lieut. Van de Velde) lay the camp of the Jehâlin. It was now about sunset, the time of day when the shepherds return home with their camels and flocks. I saw them coming down the sides of the hills to their tents, a truly rural and inviting scene, to which the bleating of the sheep added a liveliness that made this my first arrival among the dwellers in the wilderness at once cheerful and charming."¹

I venture, therefore, once more to award to the Septuagint the palm of superior accuracy; and assuming *Shalma* to be the correct name of this city, would point with confidence to *Rujeim Selâmeh* as its modern representative on the map.

xiii. To Dr. Robinson belongs the credit of having discovered (though he can scarcely be said to have determined) the site of our 13th city, *Moladah*, (מולדה). He is "disposed to regard" it as identical

¹ *Syria and Palestine*, ii. p. 85.

PART III. with the modern *el-Milh*, an Arab cemetery and watering-place, where are “vestiges of an extensive town with important wells.” He shows that the position agrees “very exactly” with the specifications of Eusebius and Jerome (20 Roman miles from Hebron, and four from Arad); but, inasmuch as he can “make out no etymological affinity” between the two words, he can only speak doubtfully of the “possibility” of a corruption from the Greek, and “regard it as an instance of the usual tendency of popular pronunciation to reduce foreign proper names to a significant form.”¹ Professor Keil admits the probability of the proposed identification; but altogether denies any “etymological connection between Milh and Moladah.”²

It may not be undesirable to add a few remarks, by way of showing that Dr. Robinson has not made the most of his materials, and that his case is really stronger than he imagines.

(1) With regard to the corruption which the name has undergone, nothing can be clearer than the evidence which remains to us as to the successive stages of that corruption. The Hebrew *Moladah* is first softened by the fastidious Greeks into the more euphonious *Malatha*; next, under Roman manipula-

¹ *Bib. Res.* ii. pp. 621, 622. Milh is the Arabic for salt. We had an example of this tendency in the case of our tenth city. See also the seventeenth.

² *Commentary*, pp. 375, 376.

tion, it is transformed into *Moleaha*; whence the PART III. transition is easy to the modern Arabic *Malekh*, *Me-lech*, or *Milh*, as it is variously pronounced. If Dr. Robinson had duly considered these *four* several steps, he need not have troubled himself by a vain search for "instances of a change of Daleth or Theta into the Arabic Ha;"¹ for the latter is merely a modification of the Roman H, which, in its turn, is a dilution of the Greek Theta, and this, as I have said, is but a softer form of the Hebrew Daleth. Keil's single objection, therefore, founded on this supposed etymological difficulty, at once falls to the ground.

(2) Josephus speaks of Malatha as a *tower* or *fortress*.² So also, Dr. Robinson, after a general reference to the ruins of el Milh, "scattered over a space of nearly half a mile square," goes on to tell us of "a round hill like a high tumulus, upon which the foundations of a wall are visible, running in the form of a square around the whole top."³ Still more to the point is the language of another American traveller: "On the other side is a hill overlooking the scattered ruins below, *which may, some hundred years ago, have been the Acropolis of the city.* A strong wall seems to have extended around the whole summit level of the hill. I remember that I rode up to the summit, winding around the hill, and leaped

¹ *Bib. Res.* ii. p. 621, note.

² *Antiq.* xviii. 6. 2.

³ *Bib. Res.* ii. p. 620.

PART III. my horse over the broken wall..... The enclosure formed by the wall was filled with ruins."¹

(3) At a later period it is mentioned in the *Notitia Dignitatum* as the station of a Roman cohort,² and, as a Roman city, may well be expected to exhibit corresponding remains; for seldom did Rome leave other than permanent traces of her presence and power. How striking, then, is the following testimony of two travellers, both of whom, it will be remembered, visited this spot some years before Dr. Robinson's theory was given to the world, and who had no hypothesis of their own to subserve! "We were surprised (writes Lord Lindsay) at finding two large and deep wells, beautifully built of hewn stone, the uppermost course, and about a dozen troughs for watering cattle disposed round them, of a coarse white marble; *they were evidently coeval with the Romans.*"³ Mr. Stephens also notices these "two remarkable wells," which he declares to be "of the very best Roman workmanship, about 50 feet deep, lined with large hard stones, as firm and perfect as on the day in which they were laid. The uppermost layer, round the top of the well, which was on a level with the pavement, was of marble, and had many grooves cut in it, apparently worn by the long-continued use of ropes in drawing water. Around

¹ Stephens, ch. xxiv. p. 78.

² *Bib. Res.* ii. p. 622.

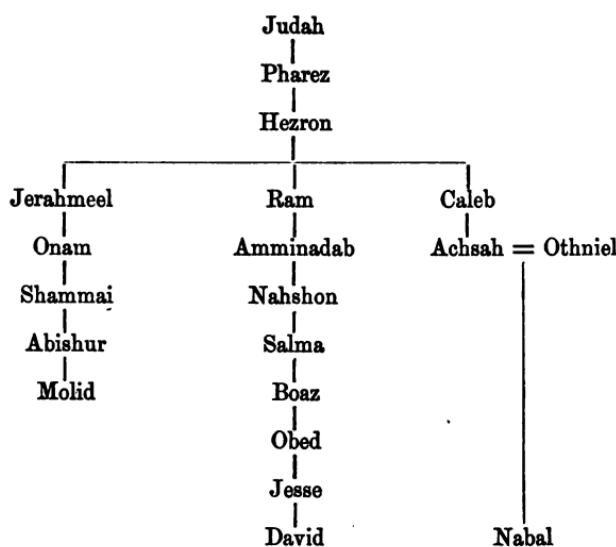
³ *Letters*, ii. p. 48.

each of the wells were circular ranges of columns, PART III. which, when the city existed, and the inhabitants came there to drink, might and probably did support a roof similar to those now seen over the fountains in Constantinople. No remains of such roof, however, are existing ; and the columns are broken, several of them standing not more than three or four feet high, and the tops scooped out to serve as troughs for thirsty camels." It is interesting to compare the statements of these two travellers, both intelligent and observant men, respecting the troughs ; as illustrating the different degrees of attention bestowed on a given object, as well as the importance of having the testimony of as many witnesses as possible, if we would view that object in all its bearings. The greater the number of *cross lights* thrown upon it, the more likely are we to see it in its just proportions. "*This no doubt was another of the Roman cities* ; and although it was probably never celebrated for architectural or monumental beauty, it must have contained a large population."¹

(4) I think it not unlikely that this city was founded by *Molid*, the fourth in descent from Jerah-mel, and the contemporary of Boaz, as will be seen from the subjoined table :

¹ Ch. xxiv. p. 78.

PART III.



We know that it was customary for the founder, colonizer, or conqueror to give his name to the city with which he thus became connected.¹ In this case, how appropriately *Kerioth-Hezron* is followed by *Shalma*, situated in the “valley of *Jerahmeel*,” and that, again, by the city called after *Molid*, the latter’s great-great grandson!

xiv. In the 14th name, *Hazar-Gaddah* (חַצְרַגְדָּה),

¹ 2 Sam. v. 7, 9; 1 Kings xvi. 24. If it should be objected that *Molid* lived after *Joshua*, and could not, therefore, give name to a city assigned by the latter to the tribe of *Judah*; we may reply, that there is no evidence to show that the topographical, any more than the other details of this book are restricted to the time of *Joshua*. While we infer from the last verse of this very chapter that the book must have been written before the eighth year of *David*’s reign, we also infer from such passages as xix. 47, that the author lived at a period long subsequent to the territorial division by *Joshua*.

“enclosure” or “fold of the kid”¹), we have another PART III. of those pastoral settlements of the earlier inhabitants of which we have already met with four examples. Happily we have once more the advantage of Eusebius as our guide, and with his assistance, together with that of a variety of other considerations, we need not fear the result of our researches.

But, while thankfully accepting the guidance of Eusebius, we need not yield ourselves implicitly to him. His facts are of inestimable value; but his criticisms we are at liberty to weigh in the scales of our own judgment, and to receive or reject according to their intrinsic merits.

We shall scarcely, then, be prepared, after our repeated experience of the inseparable connection between Hazor and the word immediately following, to concur with him in regarding Hazar-Gaddah as two distinct cities; the first of which, he would have us believe, is the same as Aser (the modern Yâsûr), which was situated between Askelon and Ashdod, *i. e.*, was not in the Negeb at all, but in the Shephelah or Lowland! To mention such a supposition is to refute it. There is not even, as in some other cases, the erroneous insertion of a *vau* in the Hebrew text to afford the slightest pretext for such separation.

We may proceed, therefore, without further delay, to consider his verification of Gaddah, which, after

¹ גַּדְּדָה is only another form for גַּדְּדָה, *hædus* (Buxtorf).

PART III. all, is the principal word. And here we feel at once that we are on sure ground. He tells us that there was in his day a city called Gadda, "*in extremis finibus Daromae¹ imminens mari mortuo.*"² Nothing could be more definite than this statement; it narrows the question to a point, and enables us to put our finger, as it were, on the very spot. I have already had occasion to show that the proper and natural boundary of the Holy Land on the south is the precipitous face of the lowest of those vast terraces of which the Negeb is for the most part composed.³ Its general direction is from S.W. to N.E., until it reaches the Sufāh pass; then it trends to the N.N.E., and terminates abruptly at the sea, a little N. of the lower Zuweirah pass. This, then, is the spot which can alone fulfil the two conditions laid down by Eusebius; inasmuch as it is the only part of the southern frontier which overhangs the Dead Sea. Accordingly, we find from De Saulcy (the only traveller, I believe, who has explored the whole western shore of the Dead Sea by land) that the route along the beach, between the mountains and the sea, which had been uninterrupted since leaving Engedi, suddenly became impracticable exactly at the point I have indicated. "Before us (he writes)

¹ דָּרוּם = נָגֵב, "the South."

² Cited in Keil's *Comm.* p. 376. The version, I presume, is Jerome's.

³ Part I. Sect. ix.

is a scorched and broken mountain, which we must PART III. clamber over: *it is called the Jebel Hatroura*" (or rather, Hadhrûr'). After traversing this mountain and a wady immediately south of it, bearing the same name, he found himself once more on the beach, where the Wady Mubughîk opens upon a delta clothed with verdure and irrigated by "the best and most abundant spring of fresh water on the road between Canaan and Moab."² We are not surprised to learn that in close proximity to this "pure and abundant spring,"—that most invaluable treasure of Eastern lands, and especially so in the regions washed by the noxious waters of the Dead Sea,—are found extensive ruins, of undoubted antiquity, and of such a nature as to prove that this has been not only a strong military post, both of the Jewish and Roman periods, but also an important settlement of a still earlier epoch.³ I have already⁴ expressed my con-

¹ Lieut. Lynch, who is our highest authority in every thing pertaining to the Dead Sea, clearly exhibits in his map the sudden encroachment of the mountain on the shore at this point.

² Lynch, who visited this spot at a later and hotter season of the year, says, "We found a little brook purling down the ravine, and soon losing itself in the dry plain" (p. 305). This proves that it was not a mere winter torrent. The name Mubughîk (or Um-Bughîk—see next note) is probably to be referred to a root cognate with גִּיחַ "to break forth," as a powerful stream; whence Gihon, Jyheon, Ghiuk, and other rivers.

³ De Saulcy, i. pp. 252—262. It is difficult to recognise in his nomenclature (Ouad Embarrheg) the Wady Mubughîk of Robinson and Lynch. Van de Velde's Um-Baghuk partakes of both, and is very significant.

⁴ Sect. ix. of this Part.

PART III. currence in De Saulcy's identification of these ruins with the Tamar of Ezekiel,¹ and the Thamara of the Greek and Roman writers. But the force of the present argument compels me to claim for them a still higher antiquity, and to recognise this as the very site of which we are in quest. For it is very evident that *Hadhrûr* or *Hudhrûr* is but a slight modification of the Arabic form for *Hazor* or its plural *Hazeroth*.² Nor is this all: in *Nejed* or *Nedjd*, the name of the wady closely adjoining Wady Mubughîk on the south,³—after stripping it of the initial formative *ن*,—we have the two principal letters of Gaddah, the loss of the terminal *ه* being unimportant.⁴ Thus the ravines on either side of Wady Mubughîk, as well as the hills from which they descend in common, furnish in their respective designations so many additional reasons for identifying our 14th city with the most ancient of the ruins in the wady just mentioned.

This view is yet further strengthened by some curious analogies suggested by a comparison of Hazar-Gaddah with Engedi: (1) Both are situated amongst the rugged heights which overlook the Dead

¹ Ezek. xlvi. 19, xlviii. 28.

² Cf. *Hudherah*, east of Mount Sinai, which is generally believed to represent the Israelitish station of *Hazeroth*; also Pt. III. Sect. iii.

³ *Bib. Res.* ii. pp. 478, 479. De Saulcy, i. p. 262.

⁴ The “final *ah* is frequently pleonastic” (Burton's *Medinah and Mecca*, iii. p. 64).

Sea. (2) Both indicate by their very names the PART III. peculiar character of those heights; adapted chiefly for the pasturage of goats, and expressly called "the rocks of the wild goats." In exact agreement with ^{1 Sam.} xxiv. 2. these Scriptural intimations, thus incidentally furnished by the names of places, is an equally incidental remark of Dr. Robinson respecting an encampment of the Ta'āmirah Arabs: "There were about six hundred sheep and goats, *the latter being the most numerous.*"¹ (3) It was in the wilderness of Engedi² that mention is made of "sheepcotes," literally vv. 1, 3. "walls of the flock;" whether of sheep or goats, is determined by the context; here the latter are evidently referred to. The same fact, as we have seen, is indicated by the word *Hazor* prefixed to Gaddah. (4) Both retain unmistakeable vestiges of their ancient names in the neighbouring hills and valleys. This has already been shown in the one case; in the other, not only is Engedi represented by 'Ain-Jidy, but its other title *Hazazon* or *Hazezon* still survives in the high table-land and wady even now called *el-Husāsah*.² (5) The very remains of the two places bear a resemblance to each other indicative of a common date. De Saulcy, speaking of the "heaps of ruins" in Wady Mubughik (as distinguished from the more recent or military works), says, "They are similar to those I observed at 'Ain-

¹ *Bib. Res.* ii. p. 180.

² *Ib.* ii. pp. 243, 244.

PART III. Jidy."¹ (6) Both must have been remarkable for the abundance of their *Palm-trees*. Engedi is otherwise designated Hazazon-*tamar* (cutting or pruning of the palm).² So, likewise, we have every reason to believe that the Hazar-Gaddah of Joshua is no other than the *Tamar* of Ezekiel, and consequently the Thamara of the classical topographers.³ And if it be deemed fatal to this identification that no palm-trees are now found among the ruins of Wady Mubughik, the obvious reply is, that the same may be said of Engedi, where we *know*, from the testimony both of Josephus and Pliny, that they formerly flourished in abundance. Nay, more; even at Jericho itself, whose palm-groves, seven miles long,⁴ were the theme alike of sacred and profane writers, not a single tree now survives to mark the spot where once stood "the City of Palm-trees." Dr. Deut. Robinson shows, from the evidence of Arculf, that these groves were in existence at the close of the xxxiv. 3. 7th century.⁵ But they may be traced four centuries later; for Sæwulf (A.D. 1102) found them still

¹ De Saulcy, i. p. 262.

² Gen. xiv. 7. 2 Chron. xx. 2.

³ I may mention, as a further link of identity, the exact agreement of the prophet's specification with that of Eusebius respecting Gadda. Both are at the angle formed by the Dead Sea and the southern boundary.

⁴ Röhr's *Historico-Geographical Account of Palestine*, pp. 42, 67. Edinb. 1843.

⁵ *Bib. Res.* ii. p. 290.

flourishing.¹ The process of decay or destruction PART III. must have commenced soon after (not a little facilitated, probably, by the Crusades); for Sir John Maundeville (A.D. 1322), whose love of the marvellous would not have suffered him to be silent respecting them, if yet existing, merely says of Jericho that it "is now destroyed, and is but a little village."² Exactly 400 years later, Dr. Shaw (A.D. 1722) tells us "there are several" palm-trees at Jericho.³ Time and neglect, however, were slowly but surely doing their work. In 1838, Dr. Robinson found "only one solitary palm-tree lingering in all the plain;"⁴ and even "of this (writes Dr. Macgowan in 1847) nothing remains except the mutilated trunk, stript of its crown of leaves."⁵ "The vine is dried up, and the fig-tree languisheth; the pomegranate tree, *the palm-tree also*, and the apple-tree, even all the trees of the field, are withered: because joy is withered away from the sons of men."

Joel i. 12.

xv. We naturally look for the 15th city, *Heshmon* (הַשְׁמִן), at no great distance from the last, *i. e.* somewhere in the S.E. quarter of the Negeb. Besides, we do not forget that this list comprises "the *uttermost* cities of the tribe of the children of Judah Josh. xv. 21.

¹ *Early Travels in Palestine*, p. 45. Lond. 1848.

² *Ib.* p. 177.

³ Kitto's *Phys. Hist. Pal.* p. ccxxvi.

⁴ *Bib. Res.* ii. p. 290.

⁵ *Jew. Intell.* xiii. 154.

PART III. *toward the coast of Edom* southward." Now, as Professor Kurtz forcibly points out,¹ the northern boundary of Idumæa was identical with that of the modern 'Azâzimeh mountains. We have already seen that the Sufâh, lower Zuweirah, and other passes mark the proper (or defensible) frontier of Palestine on the south. There remains, then, the intervening plain, a kind of debateable land, which was formerly called "the desert of Kadesh or Zin (according as its western or eastern part was more especially referred to), and is now known as Wady Murreh. It is reasonable to expect that in this plain, apparently 30 or 40 miles long and from 10 to 15 broad, certain spots, possessing the advantages of water and soil, would be occupied by the Israelites as advanced posts. Only two such places have occurred as yet, viz., Kabzeel and Kadesh: the former of which, as we have seen, was well fitted by its position to call forth the heroic qualities of one of David's chief worthies, and the captain of his guard, Benaiah, the brave son of a brave sire;² while the latter was evidently regarded by Chedorlaomer as of great strategical importance, being situated near the junction of the various roads from Egypt and the Sinaitic peninsula.³ Kadesh being thus an important outpost

¹ *Hist. of the Old Cov.* iii. pp. 233—235.

² See Sect. i. of this Part.

³ Gen. xiv. 7. See Prof. Tuch in *Jour. Sac. Lit.*, July 1848, p. 95.

against aggression from the west, and Kabzeel on PART III. the side of Moab,¹ we are prepared to find at least a third thrown out in the direction of the Edomite frontier.

But there is yet another reason for fixing the site of Heshmon near the border of Edom, derived from the name itself. We find among the kings of Edom one called Husham (הַשָּׁמָן or הַשָּׁמָן) "of the land of the Temanites."² Teman was the eldest grandson of Esau, and gave his name to a province of Idumæa.³ That this was situated at one of the *extremities* of that kingdom, is evident from Ezek. xxv. 13: "Thus saith the Lord God; I will also stretch out mine hand upon Edom, and will cut off man and beast from it; and I will make it desolate *from Teman*."⁴ And that it was the *northern* extremity, *i. e.* immediately adjacent to Palestine, is equally clear from Josh. xv. 1, which may be thus translated: "And the lot of the tribe of the children of Judah according to their families extended to⁵ the border of Edom, to the wilderness of Zin southward, even to⁶ the *extremity of Teman*."⁷ But we have the means of

¹ We saw in Sect. ix., how it commanded the high road from that country.

² Gen. xxxvi. 34: 1 Chron. i. 45.

³ Jer. xl ix. 7, 20; Amos i. 12; Obad. 9.

⁴ See another example of this, noticed in Sect. xx.

⁵ So Kurtz, iii. p. 234. Literally, "was unto" or "upon."

⁶ Cf. the same construction in ver. 3.

⁷ Thus the Arabic version, as well as Houbigant, Geddes, and Boothroyd, render.

PART III. defining the position and extent of Teman yet more exactly; for in Hab. iii. 3, it is made synonymous with Mount Paran:

“God came from Teman,
And the Holy One from Mount Paran.”

Now, if the “*wilderness of Paran*” comprehended the entire tract of country (bounded on the north by Canaan, on the south by *Jebel et-Tih*, on the east by Mount Seir, and on the west by the wilderness of Shur) answering to the modern desert *et-Tih*—which is generally admitted—then “*Mount Paran*” must have been its N.E. corner, which abruptly rises to a great elevation, and is known to Geographers as the Mountains of the *'Azazimeh*.¹

These are so many links which connect the Heshmon of our list with the Edomite king, Husham, of the land of Teman.²

The terminal affix ינ simply implies that Heshmon

¹ Tuch suggests this as one of three alternatives; but the identity of Mount Paran with Teman,—which is essentially involved in the prophetic parallelism, and must, I think, be held to decide the question,—seems not to have occurred to him. See *Jour. Sac. Lit.*, July 1848, p. 90. Keil, I have since discovered, supports the above view as to the position of Mount Paran (*Comm. on Joshua*, pp. 278, 279), without, however, any allusion to Teman.

² Kurtz suggests, with great probability, that as the Edomite monarchy was elective, the *alluphim* or “dukes” were the electors, and that they chose a king from their own body, iii. p. 340. He refers to Gen. xxxvi, Ex. xv. 15, Num. xx. 14; to which I would add Isa. xxxiv. 12. In this case, Husham would be, before his elevation to the throne, the hereditary “duke” of Teman; doubtless a person of no little consequence, being in fact the “*premier duke*” of Edom.

was the city of Husham ; just as Samaria (Shomeron) PART III.
 was so called after Shemer, and, in the Greek, Alex- ^{1 Kings} xvi. 24.
 andria after Alexander, Seleucia from Seleucus, &c.

Is there, then, any existing site which realizes the peculiar and apparently conflicting conditions here required? I submit that just such a spot presents itself in the 'Ain *Hasb* (حَسْب), at the head of a wady of the same name, communicating with Wady el-Jeib, "where (as Dr. Robinson was informed by the Arabs) there is a natural pool filled with sweet living water, surrounded by much verdure, and with some traces of ruins."¹

(1) It is not far from Hazar-Gaddah or Tamar, the last-mentioned place in the catalogue.

(2) Its close proximity to the very borders of Edom, commanding, in fact, all the approaches to it, together with its great natural advantages, would necessarily lead to its early occupation by the Temanite Idumæans ; and yet, being really in the plain (*i. e.* the desert of Zin), it would geographically be reckoned to Judah at the subsequent division under Joshua, while, in a military point of view, it would, of course, be invaluable to the Israelites.

(3) There is little difference in the names ; two of

¹ *Bib. Res.* ii. p. 499. Cf. p. 586. It is not improbable that this is the place referred to by Seetzen, under the name of Eshabiye, "southward of Moderah, about an hour distant, where traces of vineyards, &c., are still to be found" (Tuch, in *Jour. Sac. Lit.*, July 1848, p. 95).

PART III. the three principal consonants being the same, and the third merely exemplifying that interchange of the labials *בּ* and *בּ* which is so frequently observed.¹

(4) The southern border of Judah “went out (from the Dead Sea) to the south of the ascent of Acrabbim,” and then “passed along (or over) to Zin,” whence it “ascended to the south of Kadesh-Barnea.” This would make it identical with Wady Hasb as far as it went, and still further illustrates the fitness of 'Ain Hasb to represent one of the “uttermost cities of Judah toward (or upon) the coast of

Josh. xv. 21. Edom southward.”

I believe we may go a step further, and connect *Heshmon*, the city of the Temanite *Husham*, with *Hashmonah* (חַשְׁמוֹנָה), one of the stations of the Nm. xxxiii. Israelites during their forty years' wanderings. But 29, 30. with our present knowledge (or rather ignorance) of the topography of the Sinaitic peninsula, it becomes us to speak with all due caution and reserve. I will content myself, therefore, with throwing out a few suggestions, in the hope that the time may soon come, when the mists of obscurity which overhang this subject may be dispersed by the brightness of a clearer knowledge.

I quite agree with a recent writer² in rejecting the

¹ See Sections iv., xii., and xx. of this Part; also Sect. iv. for instances of the omission of the final *בּ*.

² “Sinai, Kadesh, and Mount Hor; or, a Critical Enquiry into the Route of the Exodus.” *Jour. Sac. Lit.*, April 1860, pp. 1—59.

traditional site of Mount Hor—in the heart of Edom, PART III. and close to its capital—as improbable in the extreme.¹ But I am scarcely prepared to adopt his own hypothesis, which identifies it with the *Jebel 'Arâif en-Nâkah*; and am disposed rather to find it in the *Jebel Moderah* (or *Madurah*), S. of the *Sufâh* pass, for the following reasons:—

(1) Its isolated position and remarkable appearance, as noticed by all travellers, fully justify its being called emphatically *Hor-ha-hor*, “the remarkable mountain.” Lord Lindsay describes it as “singular-looking and isolated;” Dr. Wilson as “isolated”; and Mr. Williams, as “singularly formed.” “This mountain (says Dr. Robinson), so remarkable in its appearance, we had seen upon our left at the distance of about an hour, ever since we came out upon this higher tract, rising alone, like a lofty citadel on the (south) eastern bank of *Wady Fikreh*.²”

(2) From a comparison of *Numb. xx. 22—29, xxxiii. 37—39* with *Deut. x. 6*, it is clear that *Moserah* is but another name for Mount Hor itself; not, as the advocate of the 'Arâif theory is obliged to assume,

¹ I would guard myself, however, from the supposition that I acquiesce in this writer's theories respecting *Sinai* and *Kadesh*, or that I approve of his confident, nay defiant tone towards those who differ from him. I may be permitted to add, that such a tone will not promote the objects which he evidently has at heart, and in which I cordially sympathize with him,—viz., the elucidation of Holy Scripture, and the silencing of the gainsayer.

² *Bib. Res.* ii. p. 589.

PART III. a place several miles distant.¹ Now, there is an evident affinity between *Moserah* and *Moderah*, the sibilants having a tendency to interchange with *d*.²

(3) As the Israelites journeyed from Kadesh and came to Mount Hor; so, Jebel Moderah is an average day's journey from 'Ain Kadeis.

(4) It is "by the coast" (על־גְּבוּל) or "in the edge (בְּקַצְחָה) of the land of Edom." Both these terms are expressly applied to this northern frontier *Josh. xv. 1.* of Idumæa.

(5) It is so situated that any transaction taking place on its summit would be "in the sight of all the congregation" encamped in the extensive plain (Wady Murreh) amidst which it rises.

(6) It suits the circumstances connected with the aggression of the king of Arad far better than either the Jebel Hartûn or the Jebel 'Arâif hypothesis. This has always been a difficulty with Biblical critics; to escape from which the most ingenious and far-fetched expedients have been adopted, without, however, satisfying either themselves or their readers. Here, on the contrary, all is consistent and intelligible. The king of Arad, hearing that the Israelites,

¹ He identifies Moserah with Wady Muzeiri'ah, a little to the south of Wady el-Jerûr.

² "La permutation usitée en Orient du *daled* et du *zain*" (D'Aubville, quoted by Forster, *Hist. Geog. Arab.* ii. p. 132). I do not deny the apparent resemblance between Moserah and Muzeiri'ah (see, however, Burckhardt, in Appendix, on *Gerar*); but I think there is at least as much in the other.

notwithstanding Edom's refusal to give them a passage through Wady Ghuweir to the other side of Jordan, had advanced eastwards from Kadesh as far as Mount Hor (Jebel Moderah), and there made a long halt (while mourning for Aaron), naturally suspected that they had changed their plans, and were contemplating an invasion of the country from the south. He "heard tell that Israel came *by the way of the spies*" (דֶּרֶךְ-הַאֲתָרִים). Such is the Authorized Version of this mysterious clause; while Gesenius renders it "the way to (his) regions," and the Sept., &c., "the way of (or to) Atharim." But whichever we prefer, the result will be the same. For we know that the spies "ascended (from Kadesh) *by the south*, and came unto Hebron," which, with the previous mention of the "wilderness of Zin"—the eastern portion of Wady Murreh—would seem to point to the pass of Wady Yemen (the valley of the south); and we also know that the most *direct*¹ route to Arad from the S.W. would be by the same pass, which may have formerly borne the name of Atharim. It is only necessary to bear in mind that Jebel Moderah is exactly opposite these passes into central

¹ A little to the west of the Yemen pass is one called el Haudeh, which is more circuitous, "*and is usually taken with loaded animals* ; since it escapes the steep ascent. The roads which lead up all these passes, fall into each other again in the country above" (*Bib. Res.* ii. p. 588). Now תַּוְרָה signifies "to go about," not only "as a spy," but also "as a *merchant*;" hence דֶּרֶךְ-הַאֲתָרִים may be translated "the way of the merchants," *i. e.*, the caravan road.

PART III. Canaan, in order to see at once what reasonable cause the king of Arad had for his suspicions, and why, from his vantage-ground, he deemed it best to take the initiative.

(7) From Mount Hor the Israelites "journeyed Num. xxi. by the way of the Red Sea to compass the land of ^{4.} Edom." According to the present hypothesis, this is perfectly compatible with either an onward movement down the 'Arabah, or a retrograde one *via* Gudgodah and Jotbath; whichever may eventually be required by the exigencies of a harmonized narrative of the Israelitish Wanderings—a desideratum as yet.

I am glad to be able to express my entire concurrence with the writer in the *Journal of Sacred Literature* in his identification of the two places just mentioned with Wady Ghudhâghidh and 'Adhbeh. Indeed, he has but given expression to opinions which I had formed and recorded many years ago, as the margin of my copy of the *Biblical Researches* can testify. That Ghudhâghidh is the same as Gudgodah, I had long recognised as an indubitable fact; and this enabled me to fix with confidence on the well-watered district of the upper Deut. x. 7. Jerâfeh¹ as the "land of brooks of waters" in which Jotbath, the next station, was situated. I confess, however, that the fact of the name itself surviving

¹ *Bib. Res.* i. p. 266.

in the modern 'Adhbeh had altogether escaped me; PART III. and, while rendering to the writer in question the credit so justly due to him, I hail the discovery as another valuable link in the chain of verifications of the topography of the Exodus which I do not despair of one day seeing complete. If it be objected that the resemblance of Gudgodah (הַגְּדוּדָה) to Ghudhâghidh (غضاغض) is more apparent than real, I would reply, that each of the two principal modifications is warranted by established precedent: we have an instance of the interchange of 'Ain and Gimel in Jufna, the modern name for Ophni (עָפְנִי); that of Daleth with Tsade and the other sibilants has been illustrated from D'Anville in this very Section. Again, with regard to the identity of Jotbah (יֹתְבָה) with 'Adhbeh (عَدْبَعَنْ), we have another example of the interchange of 'Ain and Yod; while that of Teth and Daleth is exemplified in Dor, now Tantûra.¹

I concur, however, with Dr. Robinson² in considering the visit to Hor-hagidgad, mentioned in Num. xxxiii. 32, as distinct from the journey to Gudgodah, described in Deut. x. 7; so that the two names are not absolutely identical: Gudgodah indicating that

¹ It is a remarkable coincidence that one of Dr. Robinson's own journeys commenced at the Pass en-Nukb (Ebronah), and ended at 'Adhbeh, and that the next commenced at 'Adhbeh, and ended at Ghudhâghidh.

² *Bib. Res.* ii. p. 678.

PART III. the encampment was in or near the Wady Ghudh-
 aghidh, while *Hor-hagidgad*, which cannot apply to the low-lying wady,¹ points to the nearest *mountain*² (the analogy of Jotbah implying a *district*, not a single spot), which is no other than Jebel 'Arâif itself. But the etymology of *Hor-hagidgad* ("the very conspicuous mountain"³), as well as its position, identifies it with Jebel 'Arâif. No more striking commentary could be furnished than the language unconsciously employed by Dr. Robinson: "Before us lay an almost level plain,.... beyond which, at a great distance, a lone conical mountain appeared *directly ahead*, at the base of which, it was said, our road would pass. This mountain is called Jebel 'Arâif en-Nâkah; and standing almost isolated in the midst of the desert, it forms a *conspicuous landmark* for the traveller.... The 'Arâif forms a *striking object*, as thus seen in the middle of the mighty waste. It is indeed a huge bulwark, terminating the open desert on this part, and forming the outwork or bastion of a more mountainous tract beyond.⁴ All

¹ *Bib. Res.* i. p. 267.

² It will be seen from this that I prefer נֶגֶד,— which is the reading of about a dozen Hebrew MSS., the Samaritan text, and the Septuagint and Vulgate versions,— to the common text, which reads נֶגֶן.

³ Its most probable derivation seems to be from נֶגֶד, which, both in Hebrew and Arabic, signifies "to be before" or "in front," "to be in full view," "in conspectu esse" (*Gezen.*). This meaning is further intensified by repetition.

⁴ *Bib. Res.* i. pp. 263, 272.

this tends yet further to show that we are not to look PART III. here for the Mount Hor of Scripture.

(8) The name *Moserah* or *Moseroth* (its plural) signifies "Divine correction" or "chastisement," a "warning" or "instructive example" (Gesen.); and may well have been given to Mount Hor in commemoration of the exemplary punishment inflicted "in the matter of Korah," during the "many days" Deut. i. 46. of the first sojourn in the wilderness of Kadesh or Zin.¹ This is curiously illustrated by a tradition, still lingering about this spot, and mentioned by several travellers. "Sheikh Hussân related of it that a city once stood there; but God was provoked at the inhabitants and slew them, and destroyed their city with stones from heaven."²

(9) The great lesson taught by the awful punishment of Korah turned on the important point as to who was "holy" (i. e. set apart by Jehovah), and therefore qualified to draw near to Him as His priest. This circumstance may serve to explain the Num. xvi. additional name, *Kadessa*, sometimes given to Mo-^{3, 5, 7, 37.}derah, and which made Bertou imagine he had dis-covered here the site of a second Kadesh.³

¹ See Kurtz, ii. 293, &c.; and compare Num. xvi. 38, 40; xvii. 10.

² *Bib. Res.* ii. p. 589. Cf. Seetzen in Zach's *Monatl. Corr.* xvii. 133, &c. Lord Lindsay, ii. p. 46.

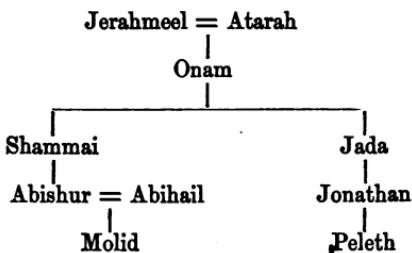
³ Or, we may understand this addition merely as an intimation that this was part of the wilderness of Kadesh; just as Hagar's well is sometimes called by the Arabs *Moilâhi-Kadeea*, from its close connection with Kadesh (Gen. xvi. 14).

PART III. (10) If I may add one more argument, drawn from analogy, we should naturally expect the scene of Aaron's death, like that of Moses, to be just outside the proper limits of Canaan, yet within the territory actually possessed by the Israelites; which would be the case, if Jebel Moderah is Mount Hor, but not, with either of the other hypotheses.

I submit these several points for further consideration, without desiring to attach undue importance to them; merely adding, that my reason for introducing them here is, that if there be any truth in the theory which they unfold, then the station Hashmonah, which comes immediately before Moseroth, is probably the same as the Heshmon of our list, *i. e.* the 'Ain Hasb of the present day.

xvi. In the case of our 16th city, *Beth-Palet* Neh.xi.26. (בֵּית-פְּלֵט), or *Beth-Phelet*, we are reminded of the fact that the exploration of southern Palestine is by no means complete; for no site bearing this name, or one even approximating to it, has, I believe, yet been discovered by modern travellers. Still we are not without indications which are sufficient to guide us in what will doubtless prove to be the right direction. (1) It stands, in this list, just before Hazar-Shual and Beersheba. (2) It was one of the cities which were rebuilt after the captivity, and is enumerated, not only (as here) immediately before Hazar-Shual and Beersheba, but also immediately after

Moladah.¹ Thus our search, which was first directed PART III. to the neighbourhood of Beersheba, is yet further defined by the introduction of Moladah. (3) As, on the one hand, we have two passages closely connecting Beth-Pelet with Beersheba, so, on the other hand, we have a second link of association with Moladah. We saw reason to trace that city to Molid as its founder. Now it is interesting to find a half-cousin and contemporary of his, named Peleth,² as is evident from the following genealogical scheme, taken from 1 Chron. ii. 26—33 :



What so natural, then, as to conclude that Peleth was the founder of the 16th city, to which, as was

¹ In Joshua, it is only separated from Moladah by Hazar-Gaddah and Heshmon. The sacred writer, after parenthetically, as it were, naming these two frontier cities, naturally returns to the vicinity of Moladah.

² The only difference between this word and our city is in the last letter,—*Thau* for *Teth*. But this is of no importance, as the linguals regularly interchange. Cf. Tantūra for Dor; *Μάλαθα* for Moladah; *Τύβας* for Thebez; Tufileh for Tophel; *Τύλιζα* for Tirzah.—Moreover, the Sept. renders this city *Βαιφαλάθ*.—The Pelet of 1 Chron. ii. 47, although spelt with a *Teth*, is less admissible, being a descendant of Caleb, whose children (with the single exception of Achsah) had their possessions in the Hill-country.

PART III. customary, he gave his own name, Beth-Pelet, "the House of Pelet"? And where are we so likely to find its site as in the district (as yet but partially explored) which intervenes between Moladah and Beersheba? It is concerning this identical tract of country that Van de Velde thus expresses himself, after speaking of his hasty journey from 'Arâr'ah to Beersheba: "The tranquillity of the morning was, no doubt, so far clouded by this circumstance [an alarm from Arabs], and in the recollection of the hurry with which Saleh stepped on before, I even now run the risk of forgetting to acquaint you with two ruins which I saw, first when an hour to the N.W. of 'Arâr'ah, and afterwards again when at Beersheba; they are called, the one Jerrah, and the other Sââwe, and lie about the southern entrance of the Wady Khulîl, the valley that runs up to Hebron, and situated on high hills. How much I lament not having had more time and opportunity for examining those hills! It is on these last heights of the Judea mountain range, and on their southern face, that many of the cities of Judah and Simeon, still unknown, must have stood."¹ The position thus assigned to the first of these sites, *Jerrah*, brings us to the junction of the Wadys 'Arâr'ah and Milh (Moladah); here, therefore, I venture provisionally to locate Beth-Pelet, and, in the present designation

¹ Van de Velde, ii. p. 136.

of the ruin, I am not indisposed to recognise a fragment of the name of Jerahmeel, the common ancestor of Peleth and Molid.¹

xvii. *Hazar-Shual* (חַצְרָ-שׁוּעָל), the 17th city, is mentioned four times.² In two of these passages, it stands between Moladah and Beersheba; which might almost dispose us to look for it in the immediate vicinity of our last city.³ But as, in the two remaining instances, it comes between Moladah and Baalah (S.W. of Gaza), our range is extended, and all we can predicate of it is, that it lay somewhere between Moladah and the Mediterranean Sea. We need, therefore, some additional criteria to enable us to decide its position. Three such are afforded us, which we shall do well to consider.

(1) The word itself implies that the animal indicated by the term Shual was found there in such numbers as to give its name to the locality. What, then, was this animal, described in various parts of Scripture as gregarious in its habits,⁴ preying on

¹ Forster, after showing that *Ras al-Had* is a contraction for Hadoram, observes, "Similar abbreviations are of familiar use among the Arabs: thus we have *Abu Jok* for *Abu Joktan*, and *Jebel al-Tar* (Gibraltar) for *Jebel al-Tarik*" (*Hist. Geog. Arab.* i. p. 141).

² Josh. xv. 28, xix. 3; 1 Chron. iv. 28; Neh. xi. 27.

³ Van de Velde suggests Sââwe, a ruin seen by him, as already mentioned, at or near the junction of Wadys Khulil and Seba', as the probable site of Hazar-Shual. We may conclude that he was partly influenced by some resemblance of sound. It is impossible, however, to judge of the actual Arabic word from his mode of spelling it.

⁴ Judg. xv. 4.

PART III. dead bodies,¹ inhabiting ruins and dry places;² and of which there were at least two species, a larger and a smaller, the latter more especially frequenting vine-yards, where they committed great depredations? Cant. ii. 15. We cannot doubt that the *jackal* (*canis aureus*) is the animal principally referred to; for it alone fulfils the several conditions above indicated, while its very name, both in eastern and western languages, is radically connected with the Hebrew *Shual*. But that the *fox* (*canis vulpes*) is *included* under this general term, is evident from Cant. ii. 15, where Solomon, with that accurate knowledge of Natural

¹ Kings iv. 33. History which is ascribed to him, speaks of it as “the *little shual* that spoils the vines.” It is, in fact, shorter in the legs and otherwise smaller than the *jackal*, and is only occasionally found in Palestine; whereas the *jackal* is met with in great numbers throughout the country. There were some spots, however, where they abounded to such a degree as to give them their special designation.³ Among these is the city now under consideration, Hazar-Shual, “the enclosure or dwelling-place of the *Shual*.⁴”

¹ Ps. lxiii. 10.

² Lam. v. 18; Ezek. xiii. 4.

³ Thus we read of the land of *Shalim* (1 Sam. ix. 4), apparently the same as the land of *Shual* (1 Sam. xiii. 17); also of *Shaalabbin* or *Shaalbim* (Josh. xix. 42; Judg. i. 35); and the *Shaalbonite* (2 Sam. xxiii. 32; 1 Chron. xi. 33).

⁴ The same usage prevails among ourselves: thus we have “Fox-holes” and “Badger-cliff” in Yorkshire, “Badger” and “Badger-dingle” in Shropshire, &c.

(2) Our next enquiry is, Do modern travellers PART III. furnish evidence of the abundance of the jackal at any spot within the limits above specified, viz., between Moladah and the sea near Gaza? Dr. Robinson happened to fall in with but two of these animals during the whole of his travels,¹ and one of them, singularly enough, was seen by him near Milh (Moladah).² On the other hand, when Dr. Keith stood on the desolate site of the ancient Gaza, and saw that the predicted "baldness" had indeed "come ^{5.} Jer. xlviij. upon" it, the only living object within view was "a jackal freely coursing over its bare surface."³ While our attention is thus again divided between the two extremities of our range of choice, the testimony of a distinguished naturalist comes in to put an end to our uncertainty. "Jackals (writes Hasselquist) *are found in great numbers about Gaza*; and, from their gregarious nature, it is much more probable that Samson should have caught three hundred of *them*, than of the solitary quadruped, the fox."⁴ As the latter, however, was included under the generic term *Shual*, it is interesting to notice that of the three occasions on which foxes were seen by the

¹ Both instances occurred in the Negeb; at which indeed we cannot wonder, when we remember the prophet's description of them as "the shualim of the dry places" (Ezek. xiii. 4).

² *Bib. Res.* ii. p. 624.

³ *Evid. of Proph.* p. 375.

⁴ *Harris's Dict. of the Nat. Hist. of the Bible*, p. 131.

PART III. Scottish Deputation throughout Palestine, one was while they were travelling in the desert S.W. of Gaza.¹

(3) All that now remains is to discover a site near Gaza, on the south side (for the Negeb did not extend beyond Wady Sher'ah), whose name shall suggest an affinity with Hazar-Shual. This we are at no loss to do. The Scottish Deputation "about half-an-hour N.E. of Khanounes" (Khan Yūnas) came to "a small village called *Benishail*, built apparently of mud bricks, but embosomed in trees, among which a solitary palm raised its head. The name of the town is taken from the Arabic name of one of the constellations.² It stands upon the summit of a rising ground, and the channel of a stream, which at one time had watered its gardens, but is now dry (June 2), can be plainly traced."³ The term *Beni* (sons) is now as frequent a prefix as Hazor used to be.⁴ And that *Shail* may well stand for Shual, is proved by the

¹ *Narrative*, p. 84. The other two were among the "rich vineyards" of el Jib (Cant. ii. 15) and the ruins of Samaria (Lam. v. 18). Robinson did not meet with any foxes.

² We have already had more than one example of the tendency of unknown words to merge into known and significant ones of similar sound. A further instance occurs a few miles to the north of this in the name *Simsim* (the Arabic for "Sesame") given to a village and wady between Gaza and Askalon; this, I cannot but think, is in reality a reminiscence of the Hebrew champion *Samson*, which naturally lingers about the scenes of his greatest exploits.

³ *Narrative*, pp. 98, 99.

⁴ Compare the districts Beni-Mâlik, Beni-Hârith, Beni-Mussah, Beni-Hasan, &c.

Masoretic pronunciation of the “land of Shualim,” PART III. represented in the Authorized Version by “Shalim.” — The analogy is complete when it is added that the “land of Shalim” or “Shual” (north of Jerusalem) is now called the district of *Beni-Sâlim*.

We have every reason, therefore, to regard the village of Benishail as the modern representative of Hazar-Shual.

xviii. Of the situation of our 18th city, *Beersheba* (ברֵשֶׁבַע), there can be no reasonable doubt; nor am I aware that a single voice has been raised against its identification by Dr. Robinson with the wells and ruins still called *Bîr-es-Seba'*. He mentions indeed one particular in which it apparently fails to meet the necessary conditions,—viz., the discrepancy between its actual distance from Jerusalem (which he estimates at more than 30 Roman miles) and the specification of Eusebius and Jerome (20 R. M.); and he attributes it to imperfect information on their part. But this is an expedient scarcely to be adopted without absolute necessity. Such a mode of getting rid of a difficulty is at all times unsatisfactory; happily, it is not required in this instance. It appears from Van de Velde that Beersheba “lies three and a-half hours to the N. W. of 'Ar'âr'ah, being *a good deal more to the north* than the map shows.”¹ It should be remembered that this writer travelled direct

¹ *Travels*, ii. p. 135.

PART III. from 'Ar'âr'ah to Beersheba; so that he was better qualified to judge of the relative positions of these two places than Robinson, who visited them at an interval of many weeks, and as parts of two distinct lines of route nowhere visible from each other, and who had, therefore, no means of comparing and mutually adjusting the two series of independent observations.

It may be objected, however, that by thus relieving ourselves of one difficulty we do but involve ourselves in another; inasmuch as Beersheba was already too near Jerusalem to meet the requirements of Gen. xxii. 4, which implies that Abraham made a three days' journey before reaching the place of sacrifice. But this difficulty is only imaginary; for it is based on the assumption that Abraham's starting-point was Beersheba. He was then living in the "land of the Philistines:" but Beersheba was not in that land; which, moreover (as I have endeavoured to show in the Appendix), is not to be confounded with the Shephelah, afterwards known as the "field 1 Sam. vi. 1 (or cultivated plain) of the Philistines." The latter were as yet but a feeble pastoral tribe, inhabiting the district of Gerar in the S.W. portion of the Negeb Gen. xx. 1. "between Kadesh and Shur." This consideration disposes of Prof. Stanley's argument (in favour of the Samaritan hypothesis identifying Moriah with Gerizim), that from Beersheba to Jerusalem is "at most

Gen. xxi.
34.
ver. 32.

a journey of two days;¹ for, as I hope to show PART III. in our 22nd Section, Abraham really started from a point twelve or fifteen miles S.W. of Beersheba. It also removes the only possible ground for supposing that he went to Moriah by way of the maritime plain; a supposition in itself so improbable, that only the exigencies of a theory could have suggested it.

Equally untenable, I venture to think, are Dr. Stanley's objections founded on the expressions "Abraham *lifted up* his eyes, and saw the place *afar off*;" as though they necessarily implied that the position was an elevated one, and visible from a great distance. The phrase "to lift up (בשָׂא) the eyes" simply means to raise the eyes from a downcast to a horizontal direction, and then to look straight before you, gazing with attention at an object directly in front.² This idiom, of which numerous examples

¹ *Sinai and Palestine*, p. 248.

² The only apparent exception is Gen. xxii. 13, which arises from an undoubted corruption of the Hebrew text. Many MSS. (both of Kennicott and De Rossi), the Samaritan text, the Septuagint, Chaldee, Syriac, and Arabic Versions, read, instead of אַיִל אֶחָד (a ram) אַיִל אֶחָד (a certain ram); in accordance with a well-known Hebrew idiom, which employs the numeral 'one' as an indefinite article, or as equivalent to the Greek *τις*. This early instance shows that Gesenius is wrong in supposing it only an idiom of the later Hebrew. The identical expression is found in Dan. viii. 3. See also 1 Kings xiii. 11, xix. 4, xx. 13, xxii. 9. St. John, whose Greek was so deeply imbued with his native tongue, and who never ceased to *think* in Hebrew even when writing in Greek, naturally introduces this usage into his adopted language. Cf., e.g., Rev. viii. 13, xviii. 21, xix. 17.

PART III. occur,¹ may be illustrated by the action of an interrupted reader, who *looks off* from his book at the cause of disturbance.² So far is it from essentially expressing the act of looking up at some elevated object, that it is even used in reference to the downward view obtained by a spectator from the summit of a mountain, and by a sentinel from his lofty watch-tower.³ It is only when it is coupled with some other word or particle, that it signifies to look *up*.⁴

A similar analysis of the word rendered “afar off” (מַרְחָק) shows that it does not necessarily convey the idea of remote distance. It is used to describe the extent to which the sound of a multitude of voices could be heard;⁵ the range within which one person could be recognised by another;⁶ movements taking place within the area of the encampment

¹ See Gen. xviii. 2, xxii. 13, xxiv. 63, 64, xxxiii. 1, 5, xxxvii. 25; Ex. xiv. 10; Josh. v. 13; Judg. xix. 17; 1 Sam. vi. 13; Ezek. viii. 5; Dan. x. 5; Zech. i. 18, ii. 1, v. 1, 9, vi. 1.

² There is a somewhat analogous phrase “to hold up the face,” or, as we should say, “to look one in the face,” expressive of conscious innocence (2 Sam. ii. 22; Job xi. 15); also, “to lift up the countenance,” spoken of the manifestation of Divine favour (Num. vi. 26). Both these metaphors, equally with the first, indicate a *forward* not upward glance.

³ Gen. xiii. 10, 14; Num. xxiv. 2; Deut. iii. 27; 2 Sam. xiii. 34; xviii. 24.

⁴ As, *e. g.*, with מְרוּם (2 Kings xix. 22); with עַל (Jer. iii. 2); with אֶל (Ps. cxxi. 1, cxxiii. 1; Ezek. xviii. 6, 12, 15, xxiii. 27; xxxiii. 25); with לְ (Isa. li. 6); with final מִן (Deut. iv. 19). So, also, with סְבִיב, it means “to look *round*” (Isa. xl ix. 18, lx. 4).

⁵ Ezra iii. 13; Neh. xii. 43.

⁶ Gen. xxxvii. 18; Ex. ii. 4; 2 Kings ii. 7.

at Sinai,¹ nay, even of the summit of Sinai itself.² It PART III. denotes a distance of 2000 cubits;³ a bow-shot;⁴ the limits within which conversation could be carried on between two opposite parties;⁵ the narrow space between the eastern wall of Jerusalem and the brook Kedron;⁶ the intervals between the several builders of the city wall.⁷ The subject is further elucidated in Job ii. 12, in which both expressions occur, and where we read that the friends of the afflicted patriarch “lifted up their eyes afar off, and knew him not.” Here the idea of elevation is altogether excluded, while the distance is evidently such, that under ordinary circumstances they would have recognised him.

When, on the other hand, it was intended that the notion of *remote* distance should be definitely expressed, the adverb **תְּנַדֵּד** was added,⁸ or the word itself repeated.⁹

We now see, with regard to the identity of the two Moriahs, how amply the requirements of the sacred narrative are satisfied by Dr. Stanley’s admission that “the towers of Jerusalem are seen from the ridge of the Mar Elias, at the distance of three

¹ Ex. xx. 18, 21; xxxiii. 7. The plain es-Sebâyeh is 3 miles long and $1\frac{3}{4}$ broad; that of er-Râheh is $2\frac{3}{4}$ by 1 (Drew’s *Script. Lands*, pp. 393—395).

² Ex. xxiv. 1.

³ Josh. iii. 4.

⁴ Gen. xxi. 16.

⁵ 1 Sam. xxvi. 16.

⁶ 2 Sam. xv. 17.

⁷ Neh. iv. 19.

⁸ Josh. iii. 16; viii. 4; ix. 9, 22. Cf. ver. 6.

⁹ Ex. viii. 28.

PART III. miles ;" and we read without disquietude the words which follow, "but there is no elevation, nothing corresponding to the place 'afar off' to which Abraham 'lifted up his eyes.'"¹ Nay, more: after having seen the contracted spaces to which the term translated "far off" is applied; and when we read, further, concerning this very Mount Moriah, that David, although doubtless at the time standing on the higher ground of his own Mount Zion, yet "lifted up his eyes, and saw the angel of the Lord" as he "stood by the threshing-floor of Ornan the Jebusite;"² we are not disconcerted on being told that "Mount Moriah is not visible till the traveller is close upon it, at the southern edge of the Valley of Hinnom, from whence he looks down upon it, as on a lower eminence."³

I must also be permitted to demur to Dr. Stanley's assertion that "the name of Moriah, as applied to the temple-hill, refers to the vision to David after the plague," if he means that the name absolutely originated on that occasion. I concur with Hengstenberg in thinking that there was but an additional significance then imparted to the name,³ a re-dedication, as it were, of a spot already hallowed by the typical offering of Isaac, and, earlier still, by the presence of another illustrious type of Christ, the priest-king,

¹ *Sinai and Palestine*, p. 248. The italics are his own.

² *Ib.* p. 248.

³ *Genuineness of the Pentateuch*, i. p. 276; ii. pp. 160, 161.

Melchizedek.¹ I submit that the true rendering of PART III. the passage (2 Chron. iii. 1), on which the learned Professor bases his opinion, is as follows: "And Solomon began to build the house of Jehovah in Jerusalem, in Mount Moriah, which² had been chosen" or "provided³ by⁴ David his father." The obvious reference is to 1 Chron. xxii. 1, where David, after his purchase of the threshing-floor, and the Divine acceptance of his sacrifice, is represented as authoritatively indicating the site of the future temple in these words: "This is the house of the Lord God, and this is the altar of the burnt-offering for Israel."

Dr. Stanley thinks that the name Moriah, as applied to the scene of Abraham's sacrifice, "was probably in the first instance derived from its con-

¹ I cannot, however, agree with Hengstenberg's hypothesis that the name Moriah is used proleptically in Gen. xxii. 2. It is more natural, and therefore more satisfactory, to suppose that the word already existed as descriptive of the surrounding district generally. And if so, whence could such a name ("the appearance of Jehovah") have originated, but with that mysterious personage whose superiority was so strikingly acknowledged by the "friend of God"? Assuredly the signification of Moriah, and its apparent connection with Melchizedek, would almost seem to countenance the opinion held by some, that this "king of Salem" was no mere mortal, but a manifestation of the Second Person of the adorable Trinity.

² The original is מְלֹאָה, which never signifies "where," unless preceded by בְּ, or followed by בְּמִ.

³ This is a not unusual meaning of מְלֹאָה, and is the more likely to be the one here intended, from its previous association with this mountain. Cf. Gen. xxii. 8, 14. Also, xli. 33; Deut. xii. 13, xxxii. 21; 1 Sam. xvi. 1, 17; 2 Kings ix. 2; x. 3, &c.

⁴ The prefix בְּ has this meaning, especially after a passive verb, to denote the efficient cause,—answering to the Greek dative (*Gesen.*).

PART III. spicuous position, as 'seen from afar off;'" and he adduces the Septuagint translation ("the high land") in confirmation of this view. This seems to me (apart from other considerations already adduced) very improbable in the case of a proper name terminating, not in the intensive *El*, but in the theocratic *Jah*. But even assuming for a moment that Dr. Stanley and the Greek Version are correct, surely the expression "high" or "conspicuous land" would apply less forcibly to Gerizim and Ebal than to the yet loftier range of Judæan mountains to which Jerusalem belongs.

Finally, I am unable to acquiesce in this eloquent writer's suggestion of a possible affinity between the words Moriah and Moreh, when it is considered that the principal if not only authority for such a supposition is the text of the Samaritan Pentateuch; a very suspicious quarter in matters connected with the rival claims of Jerusalem and Gerizim.

It appears to me most in accordance with analogy, Gen. xii. 6. to regard Moreh as the name of a Canaanite chieftain; who either originally planted, or at least signified by his residence, the oak under which Abraham afterwards encamped—as we know was the case Gen. xiii. 18; xiv. 13. with the oaks of Mamre the Amorite, and the palm-tree of Deborah the prophetess—and who has left Judg. iv. 5. a further trace of his presence and power in the hill Judg. vii. 1. which bore his name near the valley of Jezreel.

xix. The 19th city is designated by a compound PART III. word, *Bizjothjah-Baalah* (בְּזִוְתֵּיהֶן-בָּעֵלָה); there being no authority in the original for regarding these as two separate places. For the sake of brevity, the sacred writers content themselves with employing the latter (doubtless the original) name on the two subsequent occasions of its mention.¹

It is important that we should investigate the etymology of *Bizjothjah*, as likely to afford us considerable help in determining the site. After laying aside the Divine name *Jah*, we have the formative בְּזִוְתֵּה, the root of which I take to be בָּזַה, “to despise, disdain, abhor.” We may compare the cognate derivative בְּזִין, which our Version renders “con-^{Esth. i. 18.} tempt.” The meaning, then, appears to be, “*that which Jehovah despises*”; and the obvious explanation is, that this most appropriate appellative was prefixed by the Israelitish conquerors in token of the Divine abhorrence of the idolatrous worship indicated by the other part of the name, *Baalah*. Besides the many passages which set forth in general terms the abominable hatefulness of idolatry in God’s sight,² there are some which manifest His especial contempt

¹ Josh. xix. 3 (Balah), and 1 Chron. iv. 2 (Bilhah). Both these forms of the word are without the *Ain*; another proof that this letter is not so tenacious of its position as some writers suppose.

² Such as Deut. xxxii. 21; 1 Kings xvi. 13, 26, xxi. 26; 2 Chron. xv. 8; Isa. xli. 24, 29; Jer. viii. 19; Ezek. xvi. 36; Acts xv. 20; 1 Pet. iv. 3.

PART III. for the idols of south-western Palestine,¹ and in which this very verb **רָאַב** is used to express that contempt.

Ps. lxxiii. 20. “As a dream when one awaketh; so, O Lord, when Thou awakest,² Thou shalt *despise their image.*³”

Jer. xxii. 28. “Is this man Coniah a *despised broken⁴ idol?*”⁵

What can be stronger than Hosea’s language with regard to Baal? “They (Israel) went to Baal-peor, and separated themselves unto *that shame*; and their *abominations* were according as they loved:”— or that of Jeremiah? “For according to the number of thy cities were thy gods, O Judah; and according to the number of the streets of Jerusalem have ye set up altars to *that shameful thing*, even altars to burn incense unto Baal.”

It is interesting also to notice the contempt poured upon Baal, when the word itself entered into the composition of proper names, by its being made equivalent to the most reproachful epithets. Thus the *Esh-baal* (man of Baal) of 1 Chron. viii. 33, ix. 39, becomes the *Ish-bosheth* (man of shame) of 2 Sam. ii. 8; and *Meribbaal*⁶ the son of Jonathan is

¹ Judg. xvi. 21—30; 1 Sam. v. 1—12; 2 Kings i. 2—16, &c.

² The same expression occurs in connection with the humiliation of Dagon, &c., Ps. lxxviii. 65, 66.

³ בָּאַלְעָם is expressly applied to the images of Baal, 2 Kings xi. 18.

⁴ Cf. 1 Sam. v. 3, 4.

⁵ בָּאַלְעָם is employed with special reference to the idols of the Philistines (1 Sam. xxxi. 9), particularly Baal (2 Sam. v. 20, 21).

⁶ 1 Chron. viii. 34; ix. 40.

better known to us as Mephibosheth.¹ It is scarcely PART III. necessary to adduce the familiar instance of Baalzebub (*deus muscarum averruncus*) which the scorn of the Jews turned into Baalzebul (*deus stercoreus*), except for the purpose of supplying the one thing which Le Clerc felt was wanting to substantiate the commonly received interpretation of Baalzebub. "As it does not appear (he observes) why the Ekonites gave this name to their god, we cannot assert positively that it was on this account." We need be at no loss for an explanation of this supposed attribute of Baal. To this day, the district from Gaza to Jaffa (comprising the ancient Philistia or Shephelah) is peculiarly plagued with flies; an infliction far more severe than anything from which we, in these higher latitudes, are accustomed to suffer. Dr. Robinson, when travelling S. E. of Askelon, says, "The day proved exceedingly warm and very uncomfortable.... Our eyes and faces were filled all day long with small gnats rising from the wheat-fields; and large flies troubled our animals, like swarms of bees."² The Scottish Deputation (E. and N.E. of Askelon) write: "Mustapha's great anxiety was to get past a certain part of the road, which is infested with flies, before the sun was hot.³ . . . But now we began to experience the

¹ 2 Sam. iv. 4, &c.

² *Bib. Res.* ii. p. 392.

³ When we remember that Baal was the Sun, we can readily understand why he should be the particular god whom the people of this region sought to propitiate, inasmuch as the infliction seemed to result directly from his agency.

PART III. annoyance of which we had been forewarned by Mustapha. The air was filled with swarms of small flies, whose bite was very troublesome, so that we were glad to use every means to cover our faces. The camels, also, stung by these insects, became very restive, and for the first time ungovernable. . . . Oxen were bathing themselves up to the neck in a pool to get rid of the flies. We found a scanty shelter under an old decaying olive tree. At one o'clock we mounted again, the great heat, the flies, and the bad water, making us very willing to depart."¹ Van de Velde, writing from Ekron (now 'Akir), says, "The flies swarm so innumerably that I can hardly eat my food without these troublesome insects getting into it."² Similar testimony is borne by Dr. Thomson.³ The only reference to flies in Miss Rogers's interesting work, "Domestic Life in Palestine," recently published, is in connection with the Quarantine station at Jaffa. "There was nothing in the room (she says) but our luggage, our *garde de santé*, with his long stick, thousands of flies, an ant's nest, and ourselves."⁴ At this same town, Mr. Hodges, a missionary, while taking his siesta, experienced the violence of their attacks. "I was stung (he writes) by insects, I believe hornets, in four places so fearfully, that I was in dreadful pain, and my face much swollen;

¹ *Narrative*, pp. 113—116.

² *Travels*, ii. p. 170.

³ *The Land and the Book*, p. 535.

⁴ p. 5.

the eyes were so inflamed that I could not open them. PART III.
The next day, being still as bad, and very feverish,
&c.¹¹ If we go back nearly seven centuries, the
same “plague of flies” meets us in this particular
locality, proving that this is no merely modern phe-
nomenon, and satisfactorily accounting for the preva-
lence of Baal-worship in south-western Palestine. The
Chronicle of Geoffrey de Vinsauf relates how the army
of Richard Cœur de Lion, while halting in the plain to
the E. of Askelon, “were beset with swarms of small
insects, which flew about like sparks of fire, and were
called *cincenelles*. The whole region round swarmed
with them, and they annoyed the pilgrims horribly,
with their sharp stings, in the hands, neck, throat,
forehead, and face, and in whatever part of the person
happened to be exposed; their stings were imme-
diately followed by burning and swelling, and those
who were stung looked like lepers. They could
scarcely keep off their troublesome attacks with veils
thrown over the face and neck.”¹²

Such were the circumstances under which our
19th city received its twofold designation. It must
have been, like Ekron, a place specially devoted to
the service of Baal, just as Beth-Dagon (the modern
Beit-Dejan) was dedicated to the other chief divinity
of that region. Like the latter, too, it may reason-

¹¹ *Jewish Intelligence*, xix. p. 82.

¹² *Chronicles of the Crusades*, p. 290. Lond. 1848.

PART III. ably be expected to retain, in its modern appellation, some trace of that form of idolatrous worship which was its most characteristic feature. As the Negeb, however, in that portion of it to which our choice is limited, did not extend quite as far as Gaza, we are compelled to keep to the south of that city, where the boundary forms an angle with the sea. At that precise spot, about half way between Khan Yûnas and Gaza, and a little to the north of Benjshail, is a village called *Deir el Belah*.¹ Now it is well known that the Arab peasantry are in the habit of designating by the term *Deir* (monastery) any sacred building (other than a mosque), whether temple or church. That this was a temple, and not a church, may be inferred from the other part of the name (Belah), which closely resembles the two other forms of Baalah (בָּלָה and בָּלָה). Can we doubt, then, that Deir-el-Belah (the temple of Baal), near to Benishail, represents the ancient Bizjothjah-Baalah, which, in two out of the three instances of its occurrence, is mentioned immediately after Hazar-Shual, and evidently lay in close proximity to the Baal-worshipping region of the Shephelah?

xx. The 20th city, like so many others in this

¹ It is possibly the same as the Dair or Adair of the Scottish Deputation, which the darkness prevented them from distinctly seeing (p. 100); and the Esdier of Irby and Mangles, "prettily situated, with a view of the sea," and containing "some marble remains of antiquity" (ch. iv. p. 55).

list, bears a compound name, and the same process PART III. is necessary here as in the case of its immediate predecessor; with this difference, that whereas, in the former instance, we had merely to remove a comma, arbitrarily interposed between the two parts of the name, here it is necessary to expunge a *Vau*, which I believe to have been erroneously inserted, and to restore the two words to their proper constructive relationship to each other. That we are warranted in assuming, as on one or two previous occasions, an error of the text to this slight extent, is, I think, obvious from the following considerations :

- (1) The reading of the Septuagint (*καὶ Βακὼκ καὶ Ἀσὸμ*) is utterly irreconcileable with the Hebrew, and implies corruption either in the one, or the other, or both.
- (2) The argument from analogy is also applicable: for we find *Iim* forming part of a compound word as the name of an Israelitish station during the Wandering, *Ije-Abarim* (עִיָּה עֲבָרִים) “the hills of Abarim;”

¹ עִיָּה is the plural of עֵי, a noun derived from עָזַן (*Gezen*), which, with the cognate עָזָן, essentially imports (1) Whatever deviates from a straight line; (2) that which is opposed to rectitude or uprightness. Our concern is, of course, with the first or literal signification of the root: whence we have, as the several meanings of this derivative,—a crooked path (Lam. iii. 9); a tumulus (Job xxx. 24); an undulating surface (Isa. xxiv. 1), caused by great physical convulsions, such as the Deluge (Bp. Lowth and Parkh.); heaps of stones accumulated in the clearing of a field (Mic. i. 6), or of débris in the destruction of a city (iii. 12).

PART III. but nowhere, unless here, is Iim used by itself as a proper name.¹

(3) A comparison of this list of the cities of the Negeb with that of the Simeonites in Josh. xix. 1—9 and 1 Chron. iv. 28—33, shows that hereabouts the three enumerations run side by side: the only points of difference being, (a) that, in the two latter, Beer-sheba stands first—by virtue, perhaps, of its rank as the chief city of the district,² or, at least, of the

¹ It is more in accordance with the usage of the sacred writer throughout Num. xxxiii. to repeat the full name Ije-Abarim in ver. 45 as in ver. 44. This is the reading of four MSS. and the Vulgate. Other forms, however, of this word are found un compounded. Thus we have (1) Avith (עִוִת), the city of an Edomite king, “who smote Midian in the field of Moab” (Gen. xxxvi. 35). This precious fragment of history (for every thing is valuable which affords us even a momentary glimpse of those far-off times,) enables us to identify Avith with a site called Khurâbet el-’Abîd (the ruins of ’Abîd), in the plain east of Mount Seir, and midway between the two countries thus associated with this brief record of Hadad’s reign. It is interesting to note that ’Abîd, true to its etymology, is situated close to a number of detached hills forming quite a remarkable group, and at once explaining the origin of the name. (2) The Ai (אֵי) of Josh. vii. 2, &c., being in the singular number, and preceded by the article, leads us to expect some particular swell, whose very isolation would make it a noticeable object amid the surrounding plain. This exactly answers to Dr. Robinson’s description of Turmus ’Aya, which (with Keil and others) I firmly believe to be the site of Ai: “situated on a *low rocky mound* in the level valley” or rather “plain” (*Bib. Res.* iii. p. 85). (3) The Ijon (יְהוֹן) of 1 Kings xv. 20, &c., still survives (as Dr. Robinson was the first to point out) in the Merj el-’Ayûn, which he thus describes: “West of Wady et-Teim . . . lies the fine region of Merj ’Ayûn, separated from the Teim by a *range of hills*. It is an oval or almost circular basin, about an hour in diameter—a beautiful, fertile, well-watered plain, *surrounded by hills*, which in some parts are high, but mostly arable” (*Bib. Res.* iii. p. 346).

² 1 Sam. viii. 2; 2 Sam. xxiv. 7.

Simeonite territory; and (b) that some of the names PART III. are mentioned, as we might expect, in an abbreviated form. This will be seen from the following tabular view:—

Cities originally given to Judah.	Cities eventually assigned to Simeon.	
Josh. xv.	Josh. xix.	1 Chron. iv.
18 Beersheba	1 Beersheba	1 Beersheba
13 Moladah	2 Moladah	2 Moladah
17 Hazar-Shual	3 Hazar-Shual	3 Hazar-Shual
19 Bizjothjah-Baalah	4 Balah	4 Bilhah
20 Iim [and] Azem	5 Azem	5 Ezem
21 Eltolad	6 Eltolad	6 Tolad
22 Cheesil	7 Bethul	7 Bethuel
23 Hormah	8 Hormah	8 Hormah
24 Ziklag	9 Ziklag	9 Ziklag
25 Madmannah	10 Beth-Marcaboth	10 Beth-Marcaboth
26 Sansannah	11 Hazar-Susah	11 Hazar-Susim
27 Lebaoth	12 Beth-Lebaoth	12 Beth-Birei
28 Shilhim	13 Sharuhem	13 Shaaraim
29 Ain [and] Rimmon	Ain-Remmon	Ain-Rimmon

I do not hesitate, therefore, to consider *Iim* and *Azem* as the compound name of one city, which, with the necessary modification required by the state of regimen, would be called *Ije-Azem*.¹

On the same principle that I proposed to derive the name of our 15th city, Heshmon, from that of Husham as its founder, we are justified in tracing an affinity between *Azem* and *Azmon* (אַזְמוֹן), a place on the southern border of Palestine.² This has, I

¹ The Hebrew would then be עִי-הַעֲצָם or rather עִי-עַצָּם. The initial *He* of the second word might easily be mistaken by the copyist for the final *Mem* of the first, and then the words, being no longer in a state of construction, would seem to require the connecting *Vau*; the result of which would be the present reading.

² Num. xxxiv. 4; Josh. xv. 4.

PART III. think, been rightly identified with the wady called Kusâimeh by Robinson and Aseimeh by Rowlands. That these are only dialectic variations of the same name, is demonstrated by the fact that the Targum of Jonathan reads for Azmon, *Kesam*.¹ Now if Kesam be but another form of Azmon, *a fortiori* is it to be regarded as equivalent to Azem.

While, however, we cannot but recognise an etymological affinity between Ije-Azem and Azmon, it does not necessarily follow that they are absolutely identical: all that we can predicate with certainty is, that they have something in common; as, for example, Yorkshire and York, or Essex and Sussex, or—to cite a Scriptural illustration by no means inapposite—the two Israelitish stations called respectively “*Ije-Abarim*” and “the *Mountains* of Abarim.”

^{Numbers}
^{xxxiii. 44,}
^{47.} Happily, the key that unlocks the difficulty, and discloses the common bond which unites Azem and Azmon, is within our reach. The word survives, with scarcely any alteration, in the Arab tribe *Azâzimeh* (sing. *Azmy*), who not only give their name to the mountainous district² which I have identified with the ancient Teman, but occupy, jointly with the Tiyâhah, that portion of the Negeb which adjoins it on the west and north-west; their pasture-ground ranging from the Wady el-Hasana, in the latitude

¹ Kurtz, iii. p. 228.

² *Bib. Res.* i. p. 274; iii. App. p. 203.

of Jebel 'Arâif en-Nâkah, to the neighbourhood of PART III. Gaza.¹ And here we are reminded that the Aborigines of this very district were called *Avim* or *Avites* (עִוִּים), a word derived from the same root as *Iim*, and denoting "dwellers among hills;" a very appropriate designation of these remote predecessors of the 'Azâzimeh, when we consider the undulating character of their country (otherwise called *Gerar*), which presented so striking a contrast to the extended plain of the Shephelah on the one hand, and the unbroken level of the desert plateau on the other. By collating Deut. ii. 23 with Josh. xiii. 3, 4, we are enabled to ascertain the exact limits of the Avite territory. In the former passage we are told that "the Avim dwelt in Hazerim (or pastoral enclosures;² i. e. they followed a nomadic life) *even unto Gaza.*" This, then, was their northern boundary: what their southern one was, we learn from the second passage, which, in an enumeration of the districts of Palestine "that yet remained to be possessed," specifies "the Avim *from Teman.*"³

¹ Zimmermann's *Map*, Pts. vii. and ix. Cf. Dr. Stewart (p. 200), who makes el-'Auveh the limit southwards.

² One special characteristic of this whole region is the number of *rows and circles of stones*, evidently of the greatest antiquity; many of them being inscribed with characters resembling the so-called "Sinaitic" writing.

³ The English reader here labours under a twofold disadvantage; for not only does the third verse break off in the middle of a clause, but what is evidently a proper name (*אֶת Θαυμάσ*, Sept.) is degraded into a mere point of the compass. Compare some remarks on Ezek. xxv. 13, in the fifteenth Section of this Part.

PART III. Seeing, therefore, how strikingly the Avim coincide both with Iim and with the 'Azâzimeh (*i. e.* with Azem); with the former, etymologically, and with the latter, territorially; and not forgetting the time-honoured axiom of Euclid, that "things which are equal to the same are equal to one another:" the conclusion seems irresistible, that Iim and Azem are but component parts of a single proper name; and thus, what we were enabled from previous considerations to view as morally certain, we may now regard in the light of a mathematical demonstration.

We have ascertained the nature and extent of the affinity between Ije-Azem and Azmon; they stand in a common relation to the 'Azâzimeh Arabs of the present day. As this tribe has been shown to occupy precisely the same territory as the Avim of old, it is not unlikely that they are substantially the same people. Both titles would thus be equally significant: the one, as an appellative, describing the undulating country in which they dwelt; the other, as a patronymic, indicating their descent from an ancestor named Azem. Azmon would then be "the city of Azem," just as Shomeron (Samaria) was "the city of Shemer," and Heshmon, "the city of Husham."¹

¹ It is probable enough that Hebron may in the same way have been founded by a person of the name of Heber (perhaps an ancestor of Mamre),—whose name may still survive in the present Wadys el-Khuberah, near Hebron and Gaza,—and Ekron, by Eker or Aker (its modern designation being 'Akir).

I have already expressed my concurrence in its PART III. identification by Rowlands and Kurtz with Wady el-Kusâimeh or Aseimeh. This valley, although now called el-'Ain lower down (from one of its branches which communicates with 'Ain el-Kudeirât), formerly retained its proper designation until its junction with Wady el 'Arîsh, if we may judge from a place at the confluence named el-Kusaby, apparently the same word, the letters M and B frequently interchanging. This location, which is still further confirmed by the existence of ruins,¹ will be found to harmonize the seemingly conflicting accounts of the southern frontier-line contained in Numb. xxxiv. 4, 5, and Josh. xv. 3, 4. The former, which is more concise, represents the border as going out (אֶצְבֵּי) from the south of Kadesh-Barnea to Hazar-Addar (identified by Rowlands and Kurtz with 'Ain el-Kudeirât or Adeirât), whence it crossed over (עַבְרָה) to Azmon.² From Azmon it "fetched a compass" (נָסַב) to the "river of Egypt;" i. e. instead of proceeding directly to the Wady el-'Arîsh along the Wady el-Kusâimeh, it turned southwards from the

¹ Dr. Bonar, when in this wady, which he calls Kuseimeh, "came upon circles and lines of stones, like ruins;" immediately after which he "passed some long lines of stone, with ruins of considerable extent spreading over a large part of Wady el-'Ain" (pp. 292, 293).

² How exactly this agrees with Dr. Robinson's language when close to Wady el-Kusâimeh: "*Beyond the eastern mountain*, at some distance, is a large fountain with sweet running water, named 'Ain el-Kudeirât" (*Bib. Res.* i. p. 280).

PART III. south-eastern extremity of the last-mentioned wady, skirted the western wall of the 'Azâzimeh (or Temanite) mountains, along its entire extent, and then swept round N.W. to join the 'Arîsh.

That this was, in its widest sense, the *natural* boundary, alike of the Negeb and the Holy Land, and not merely a capricious and unmeaning *détour*, is very evident from an important observation of Dr. Robinson on arriving at Wady el-Mâyein: "We had now left the country of the Haiwât, and entered that of the southern Tiyâhah. *Here, too, ends the region or desert of the Th.*"¹

This remarkable circuit is made more clear by
 xv. 1—4. the fuller specifications of Joshua, which inform us that the border line, after ascending to the south of Kadesh-Barnea, crossed over to Hezron, and went up to Adar. Then, without mentioning its touching the eastern extremity of Wady el-Kusâimeh (which it was not necessary to repeat), the sacred writer adds the important statement, that it "fetched a compass to Karkaa" (נָסַב הַקָּרְקָעָה), whence it passed (עַבָּר) to Azmon, and went out (וַיַּצַּא) at the 'Arîsh. The former specification had indicated, though somewhat vaguely, the sudden curve described by the "south border" in the direction of Wady el-Mâyein, which is now made both certain and intelligible by the reference to *Karkaa*. This word has but two

¹ *Bib. Res.* i. p. 274.

meanings in Scripture; it is applied to the floor or PART III. pavement of a building, and to the bottom of the ^{Num. v. 17;} sea. In this twofold sense the Chaldee resembles ^{1 Kings vi. 15, &c.} the Hebrew (Gesen.). We may also compare the cognate ^{Am. ix. 3.} **רָקֵךְ** *râk'a*, which means, to stamp with the feet; then, to spread out solid bodies, as *e. g.* the earth; to ^{6.} Ps. cxxxvi. beat or hammer out metals; and, generally, to stretch ^{Ex. xxxix. 3.} out; hence, **رَاقِيَّةٌ** *râki'a*, the firmament or expanse.

Turning to the Arabic, we have **قرق** *kerak*, “*solum planum et æquabile*” (Gesen.), and **عَلَى** *kâ'a*, “a plain.” This latter name (*Kâ'a*) is given to the “great plain” which extends along the seashore, W. of the Sinaitic mountains.¹ It is also applied to the “immense plain,” N.W. of 'Akabah, on which the traveller finds himself after ascending from the 'Arabah. Dr. Robinson, who first saw it from the south, describes it as “extending far to the west, and apparently *on so dead a level*, that water would hardly flow along its surface. It has, however, as we found, a slight declivity towards the W. and N.W. The plain, where we entered upon it, was covered with black pebbles of flint; then came a tract of indurated earth; and afterwards again similar pebbles. The whole plain was utterly naked of vegetation.”² Burckhardt traversed it from E. to W., and speaks of it in very similar terms: “We had now before us an *immense expanse* of dreary country, entirely covered with black

¹ *Bib. Res.* i. pp. 106, 163.

² *Ib.* i. p. 259.

PART III. flints, with here and there some hilly chains rising from the plain." Among these he mentions one, terminated by a projecting summit called Râs el-Kâ'a. "The plain which we now entered (he continues) was a *perfect flat* covered with black pebbles." Further west he writes, "The level plain over which we had travelled from Râs el-Kâ'a terminates at Dharf el-Rokob.¹ Westward of it the ground is more intersected by hills and wadys, and here begins the Desert et-Tîh."² Robinson, whose course was northward, found that it extended in that direction as far as Wady el-Ghudhâgidh.³

I have gone into these particulars of the Kâ'a en-Nukb, because they so completely illustrate the first of the two meanings belonging to Karkaa, that of a dead level. But we must not lose sight of the other signification attached to it, that of being the bed or receptacle of a large body of water.⁴ It may easily be seen how applicable this is to the western Kâ'a of which I first spoke; for we learn from Lepsius that during the winter rains it is surcharged with the torrents of water brought down by the wadys from the mountains of Horeb. And it is con-

¹ A mountain, called by Robinson Turf er-Rukn.

² *Syria*, pp. 445—448.

³ *Bib. Res.* i. p. 267.

⁴ The juxtaposition of these two meanings is by no means accidental; the present plains of our continents having been, at a previous Geological era, the beds of seas and lakes.

cerning the eastern Kâ'a that Dr. Robinson writes PART III. when he says of the Wady el-Jerâfeh, "It is *the great drain of all the long basin* between the 'Arabah and the ridges west of Turf er-Rukn, extending from Jebel et-Tîh on the south, to the ridge between Jebel 'Arâif and el-Mukrâh on the north. The Jerâfeh exhibits traces of *a large volume of water* in the rainy season."¹ We can well understand, therefore, the propriety with which the district around Jotbah (represented by the modern Wady el-'Adhbeh, a tributary of the Jerâfeh) is described as "a land of brooks" or "winter-torrents (not rivers) of waters." Deut. x. 7.

We are now prepared to apply the materials we have gathered to the identification of Karkaa. It is well known that the Jerâfeh is not the only great drain of the Sinaitic peninsula. "The middle of this desert is occupied by *a long central basin* extending from Jebel et-Tîh to the shores of the Mediterranean, descending towards the north with a rapid slope, and *drained through all its length* by Wady el-'Arîsh."² So that we may reasonably infer from the fact of that part of the course of the Jerâfeh, where the greatest accumulation of water takes place, being signalized of old by the title of "land of torrents of waters," and now by that of Kâ'a, that a similar state of things will be found in connection with the 'Arîsh. Can we point, then, to a part of

¹ *Bib. Res.* i. p. 266. Cf. p. 294.

² *Ib.* i. pp. 293, 294.

PART III. its course where both the conditions involved in the meaning of Karkaa exist—viz., a *level*, or, rather, *basin-like surface*, and *abundance of water*? We may at once reply in the affirmative. An inspection of the map shows that the greatest confluence of streams occurs where the 'Arîsh receives the waters of the Kureiyeh, with its numerous tributaries, one of which, the Khurâizeh, is noticed as “the deep bed of a torrent,” and another, the Mâyein, is thus described: “It has its head far up among the mountains on the right (*i. e.* the east); and in it are the wells of the same name. *Its bed bears evident traces of a large volume of water; and the flat plain beyond is much cut up by its torrents.* The bed of the wady and the adjacent part of the plain are covered with stones, some quite large, apparently *brought down by the waters* from the mountains.”¹ Two or three miles further north, is another tributary of the 'Arîsh, the Wady el-Lussân, “*a broad plain swept over by torrents* descending from the mountains on the right.” Beyond this the plain ceases, and is succeeded by “*a tract of undulating hilly country, which indeed might almost be called mountainous.*”² Recognising this to be the land of the Avim, we proceed no further, and turn to the other side of the 'Arîsh, where, midway between the Mâyein and Lussân, its stream is swollen by that of the Hasana, “*a plain*

¹ *Bib. Res.* i. pp. 272—274.

² *Ib.* i. pp. 276, 277.

*with living water.*¹ Here we avail ourselves of Dr. PART III. Wilson's account of his travels in this immediate neighbourhood: "They (the Tiyâhah Arabs) conducted us to a pool of excellent water, which was most refreshing both to men and camels. Some other pools of the same character were quite contiguous to it, and which, *owing to the form of the ground, appeared to be fed from every point of the compass.* *The part of the desert where we were, they denominated the Kâ'a el-Barûk, or 'Plain of the Pools.'* *It consisted of an extensive basin slightly depressed, with the sands torn up in some places to the depth of six or seven feet by the torrents.*" On leaving this place for Wady el-Kureiyeh, he adds, "Our course lay almost directly east..... The ground over which we passed in the course of the day was *nearly level*; and the branch wadys..... are merely slight depressions in the sands."²

These separate descriptions evidently refer to one and the same plain; the two termini being Wady el-Kureiyeh and Kâ'a el-Barûk, each of which seems to have retained a portion of the ancient name, Kar-kaa: about Kâ'a, at any rate, there can be no mistake.

While we thus apply the name generally to the whole of this well-watered expanse, we are justified in concluding that it designated some particular

¹ *Bib. Res.* i. p. 563.

² *Lands of the Bible*, i. pp. 270, 277.

PART III. station or fortress on the southern border of Palestine.

Karkaa is supposed with great probability to be the *Coracea* of Ptolemy, in Arabia Petræa. It is not unlikely that it is also the same with the castle called *Carcaria*, placed by Eusebius at the distance of a day's (?) journey from Petra.¹ The softening of Karkaa into Coracea enables us to identify the Wady el-*Khurâizeh* (one of the tributaries, as we have seen, of Wady el-Kureiyeh) as the modern representative of this most southerly point of the Holy Land. A more suitable spot for a border stronghold could not be found: it overlooked the desert in every direction; it had an inexhaustible supply of "sweet water" in the neighbouring wells of Mâyein; and from the names of adjacent valleys (Abu *Tin* and el-*Hamd*, implying abundance of Figs), it must have had the advantage of a fruitful soil. Here, then, it was that the boundary line of Palestine, in its widest acceptation, swept round after descending so far to the south; and pursuing a N.W. course, touched the western extremity of Wady el-Kusâimeh (Azmon), and finally was merged in the Wady el-'Arîsh, which it followed to its outgoing at the sea.

I trust this digression from our main subject will not have been superfluous, if it has contributed in any

¹ For these two particulars I am indebted to a note in Bagster's *Treasury Bible*, in loco.

measure to elucidate a matter which has hitherto received little attention from the critic or the topographer. PART III.

Having thus seen that Azmon, although genetically related to Ije-Azem, is not specifically identical, our next object is to determine in what part of the pasture-grounds of the Avim or Azâzimeh we are to look for our 20th city.

When we think of the position of the four preceding cities, the probabilities are undoubtedly in favour of a northern rather than a southern direction. This consideration at once suggests the inquiry whether the ruined site, which is most familiar to us under the name el-'Abdeh, be not the very spot of which we are in quest; and I believe that the more the subject is investigated, the more satisfied we shall be that such is indeed the case.

(1) The position, as I have already said, is consistent with that of the cities which have gone before; and, as I hope to show, it is equally so with those which are to follow.

(2) It is very unlikely that a site of such importance as this, should not have been occupied from the first; and if so, it would necessarily be mentioned in this enumeration of the chief cities of the Negeb: but, unless it be referred to here, I see no other name that can with any probability be identified with it.

(3) There is, moreover, the meaning of the word *lîm* to assist us. We have already seen what the

PART III. Hebrew imports;—in the singular, an isolated mound or tumulus, rising in the midst of a plain; then, in its wider sense, a series or group of such detached heights; and finally, the irregular outline presented by the alternation of hills and valleys;—it only remains that we compare it with the actual physical aspects of the locality itself. Dr. Robinson, after speaking of the “hills, which from a distance *appeared like mountain peaks*,” and of the 'Azâzimeh, whom he found “pasturing their camels and flocks,” remarks that “the country around became gradually still more open, with broad arable *valleys*, separated by *low swelling hills*. At 8 o'clock we turned off the road (to Beersheba) towards the left of a *low range of hills*, in order to visit the ruins of 'Aujeh or 'Abdeh. In half an hour we came upon a low ridge, commanding a view out over a boundless plain or slightly undulating tract.”¹ We can now understand how these clustering yet detached hills, which must have looked so conspicuous in this wide expanse, served to designate a spot of which they were so marked a characteristic. The relation in which this city stands to the adjacent hills is clearly set before us in the following extract from Kurtz: “You proceed westwards (along Wady Murreh), and arrive at length at the link by which the S.W. corner of the Amoritish plateau of Rakhmah is connected with

¹ *Bib. Res.* i. pp. 282, 283.

the N.W. corner of the 'Azâzimât. This link is PART III. formed by an eminence to the E. of el-'Abdeh, from which the Jebel Garrah and Jebel Gamar emerge, the former towards the N.W., and the latter to the S.W., and encircle 'Abdeh in the form of an amphitheatre."¹

But the peculiar meaning of Jim is exemplified, not only in the configuration of the surrounding landscape, but in the local features of the site itself. "The principal ruins are situated on a *hill or rocky ridge*, from 60 to 100 feet high, running out like a *promontory*.....and *overlooking the broad plain*."² Dr. Bonar thus describes the appearance of el-'Aujeh, as seen at a distance through the telescope: "There are two sorts of *peaks*; the higher looks like a castle, but turns out to be only the *peculiar castellated formation of the rock*. The lower is an old fortification, and both in situation and appearance was not unlike Home Castle in Berwickshire."³

(4) Another mark of identity is furnished by the modern name of this site. We have seen that Dr. Robinson calls it el-'Aujeh or el-'Abdeh. Now there is much reason to believe that the latter name does not belong to this place at all. The evidence on which Dr. Robinson allowed himself to depend in deciding what he admits to be a much disputed point,

¹ *Old Cov.* iii. pp. 223, 224.

² *Bib. Res.* i. p. 285.

³ *Desert of Sinai*; p. 303.

PART III. appears to me very insufficient. Against a host of opposing testimonies, he can bring only a certain camel owner, whose personal knowledge we have no means of testing, and one of his Tawarah Arabs, who, however, admitted that his information was derived from a European traveller; while the *regular guides* ('Amrân Arabs from 'Akabah) declared that they knew only the name 'Aujeh. I have observed, indeed, as the result of a long and intimate acquaintance with the *Biblical Researches*, that its learned and excellent author is not to be trusted implicitly, as to his reasonings and inferences, when his mind is pre-occupied with some favourite theory or foregone conclusion. Here, for example, he had fully persuaded himself that the Roman route from Jerusalem *via* Elusa to 'Akabah was across the central desert west of the 'Azâzimeh mountains. Consequently, when he arrived at Wady el-Lussân, although his "guides knew of no fountain or water in this valley, nor of any ruins,"¹ yet his faith was not shaken, and his conclusion was, that "the name, and *perhaps* the position, corresponds to Lysa, a station on the Roman road, lying, according to Rennell, about fifty-five geographical miles from Ailah." Had this been the only estimate of distance on record, it might have been considered a tolerable approximation; but he is compelled to add, albeit in a note, the damaging

¹ Cf. Stewart, p. 193.

fact, that the Peutinger Tables make it 48 R. M. south ~~PART~~ ^{III.} of Eboda,¹ Wady el-Lussân being little more than 30 R. M. from el-'Aujeh! Arriving at the latter place, he asserts with the utmost confidence that it represents the ancient Eboda or Oboda. He finds a reason for this in the distance of Eboda from Elusa, which, according to the Peutinger Tables, was 23 R. M., whereas el-'Aujeh is, according to his own map, about 17 R. M. from el-Khulasah. And yet he thinks "the correspondence sufficiently exact, and (he adds) the name of 'Abdeh, which the spot still bears, is decisive"! It is certainly unfortunate that this very point, which, to say the least, must be considered extremely doubtful, should be the one selected to clinch his argument as to the identity of this place with Eboda. Moreover, he sees no difficulty in the fact that although this "must have been a place of importance and of great strength," and "the large church marks a numerous Christian population," yet "Eboda is nowhere mentioned among the episcopal cities."²

Such is the evidence on which Dr. Robinson has built his theory of a Roman route across the high desert plateau between Elusa and Ailah; although he confesses that he "could find no trace of anything corresponding to" two out of the four stations (Rasa and Gypsaria), and in the case of the other two, as

¹ *Bib. Res.* i. pp. 276, 277.

² *Ib.* i. p. 287.

PART III. we have seen, there is a discrepancy of 24 miles in a total of 71.

It is gratifying, however, to observe that more recent travellers are beginning to think for themselves; and, while thankfully acknowledging their great obligations to the learned Professor for the invaluable treasury of facts which he has given to the world, are venturing to separate those facts from mere theories, and to judge of the latter according to their real worth. Mr. Drew, in his excellent work on *Scripture Lands*, evidently doubts Dr. Robinson's accuracy in this instance, although generally disposed to adopt his views. It may be remarked, in addition to the evidence directly opposed to Robinson's theory which he has himself adduced, that Dr. Stewart's sheikh "volunteered the information" that there was a ruined city, two days' journey E.S.E. of Ruheibeh, *on the way to Petra*, called el-'Abdeh, where the houses are "still standing and fit to live in."¹ Moreover, Mr. Rowlands distinctly ascertained from his Arabs that there was an easy road through broad wadys, which led direct from 'Ain el-Kadeis to

¹ This spontaneous evidence on the part of Dr. Stewart's responsible guide is more likely to be correct than that of "Aeed (his Tiyāhah camel driver) and one of the 'Azāzimeh who was feeding his flock close by," who, doubtless in reply to special inquiries, gave the name of el-'Abdeh to some ruins a mile S.E. of the principal remains on the hill, which all agreed in calling el-'Aujeh; "but the latter (he adds) is the name by which they are *both* generally known among the Bedawīn" (p. 198).

Petra. Once more, Dr. Bonar writes: "Our Bedawin ^{PART III.} here pointed out to us el'-Aujeh, at a considerable distance to the left or N.W.; and spoke of el' Ab'd, or 'Abdeh, as being to the right, or E., and a day's journey from us. I note this, because others hold that these two are the same."¹

I am much disposed to think, therefore, that the Roman route between Elusa and Ailah took a S.E. direction, across Wady Murreh and among the mountains of the Azâzimât, somewhat in the manner indicated in Zimmermann's map;² entering the 'Arabah opposite Petra, or a little to the south of it.³ There is, perhaps, some confirmation of this view in a discovery of Dr. Wilson, when descending into the 'Arabah somewhere south of the Jerâfeh." "After an hour's march (he says), we came upon an old caravan road, marked by ten or twelve camel tracks,

¹ *Desert of Sinai*, pp. 302, 303.

² I am bound to state here, that when I expressed this opinion as to the probable direction of the Roman road, I was not aware that I had been anticipated by Dr. Stewart, whose work I had not then seen. It is satisfactory, however, to find that we have independently reached the same conclusion.

³ I have indicated the probable direction of this route in the map which accompanies this work; and have assigned positions to Eboda and Lysa, in accordance with the measurements above specified. The remaining stations, Gypsaria and Rasa (or Gerasa), may perhaps be identified respectively with 'Ain Ghurundel and 'Ain el-Ghudyâن, the only important watering-places between 'Ain el-Melîhy and 'Akabah. It is much to be desired that some competent traveller would undertake to set this question at rest, as well as explore the important Wady Murreh, about which so little is really known.

PART III. running along the heights by which the Wady 'Arabah is bounded on the west. It attracted our particular attention, and led to minute examination. It was cut through by the rains in many places, and large portions of the banks over which it had formerly passed had fallen down. Fragment after fragment of it, however, was visible on both sides of us. We concluded that it must have been connected with Elath (Ailah) or Ezion-geber in ancient times, and that it is a proof that Kafilahs of merchandise proceeding from the eastern branch of the Red Sea to Gaza, or the south of Judah, did not always keep in the low valley of the 'Arabah. We were about two hours in getting out of what might be called the slopes of the 'Arabah."¹

It may be added, in passing, that if this place were really called by two distinct names among the Arabs, it would be a most unusual if not unprecedented circumstance. Unless, therefore, it is supported by the clearest evidence, the name 'Abdeh should be discarded as an intruder, and 'Aujeh, which no one ever disputed, be restored to its rightful and undivided honours. I unhesitatingly assume this to be so, and proceed to observe, that 'Aujeh is probably from the same primitive root as Iim; for it imports, like it, all that is included in the term "crooked." We find a river of this name near

¹ *Lands of the Bible*, i. pp. 283, 284.

Jaffa, which is remarkable for its serpentine course. PART III.
 It is also applied to a "conical hill crowned by the
 ruins of a town," N. of Jericho.¹ Here, too, in the
 'Aujeh of the Negeb, we see how truly its meaning
 is expressed in the "hill or rocky ridge" on which
 the ruins are situated.

(5) A crowning proof of the identity of *el-'Aujeh*
 with *Ije-Azem* is afforded by the fact, that the
 'Azâzimeh to this day frequent this place, and claim
 territorial rights in connection with it. "We left
 the ruins (writes Dr. Robinson) at 10 $\frac{3}{4}$ o'clock. Just
 as we were mounting our camels, one of the 'Azâ-
 zimeh, who was pasturing in the vicinity, came up
 and scolded our guides most violently for bringing
 Christians to view his country."²

xxi. The 21st city is *Eltolad* (אלתולד), or, as
 it is called in 1 Chron. iv. 29, *Tolad*. I have already
 had occasion to notice the tendency of proper names
 in the lapse of time to undergo abbreviation in differ-
 ent ways, one of which was, to throw off the Divine
 affix. We need not be surprised, therefore, to find
 the shorter form in the book of later date. This was
 one of the Simeonite cities (Josh. xix. 4); and as it
 is found in exactly the same order in the three pas-

¹ *Bib. Res.* ii. p. 303.

² *Ib.* i. p. 287. Dr. Stewart speaks of a wady called *Azes* among
 the ruins; he also met with many 'Azâzimeh pasturing in the neigh-
 bourhood. "If one might judge (he says) from the number of
 camels, they are far from being a poor tribe" (pp. 199—201).

PART III. sages in which it occurs, we are justified in assuming that it was situated at no great distance from el-'Aujeh, and further south than any city which has yet been mentioned. This brings us into the district comprised in that remarkable circuit of the southern boundary-line of which so much was said in the last Section. And here we meet at once with unmistakeable traces of the name we are seeking, expressed, as we should naturally expect, in its later and abbreviated form. The northern portion of the western wall of the 'Azâzimeh mountains is named *Jebel Moyleh* (or *Moilâhhi*); while the southern part is called *Jebel Yaled*.¹ Now this last word corresponds to the Hebrew verb *Yâlad* (יָלָד), of which *Tolad* is but the feminine derivative; and as *Jebel Moyleh* evidently takes its name from the neighbouring well of *Hagar*,² so we may fairly ascribe a similar origin to *Jebel Yaled*. But we are not left to doubtful conjecture; the name is preserved yet more closely in the *Wady el-Thoula*, which is marked in *Zimmermann's map* a little to the north of 'Ain el-Mâyein,

¹ *Kurtz*, iii. p. 224. Cf. *Zimmermann's Map*, Pt. ix., which, however, seems scarcely correct with regard to *Moyleh*; it should be more to the north.

² "The names now given to the mountains are chiefly derived either from the adjacent wadys, or from their peculiar vegetation. Some few are called from some natural peculiarity, such as *Jebel Hammâm*, so called from the warm springs at its foot; or *Tâst Sudr*, from its cup-like shape. Some, however, both of the wadys and the mountains, are called from legendary or historical events attached to them" (*Stanley's Sinai and Palestine*, p. 31. Lond. 1856).

and appears to be but another name for the Wady PART III. el-Lussân. Here are “a few remains of rude walls, and foundations,” which mark a former site. And a very eligible one it must have been; well supplied as it was with all the requisites for an ancient settlement. Regular paths led S.E. to the “wells of sweet water” at 'Ain el-Mâyein, and N.E. to the reservoir at the head of Wady el-Jerûr; while still nearer was the “large plain or basin, drained by a watercourse near the middle,” called Wady el-Muzeiri'ah, “full of shrubs and vegetation, and capable of tillage,” as is evident from the fact that even now “the Arabs are accustomed to plough and sow here.”¹ It is not surprising, then, to find that this was a favourite pasture-ground of the patriarchs. Here Abraham “dwelt between Kadesh and Shur,” Gen. xx. 1. digging wells in the adjoining “valley of Gerar” (Wady el-Jerûr) and other suitable localities, and thus securing a right of proprietorship in this favoured district. We learn this incidentally in a subsequent chapter, where we are told that “Isaac departed thence (*i. e.* from the *city* of Gerar, S.E. of Gaza) and pitched his tent in the *valley* of Gerar (Wady el-Jerûr), and dwelt there. And Isaac digged again the wells of water, which the servants of Abraham his father had digged;”² for the Philistines

¹ *Bib. Res.* i. pp. 277, 278.

² The Sam. text has **עַבְדִּי** for **בַּיִתִי**, which gives quite as good

PART III. had stopped them after the death of Abraham: and he called their names after the names by which his father had called them.¹ Among the spots thus named by Abraham I believe Eltolad to have been one; and to this, of all others, Isaac must have felt a pious pleasure in asserting his claims, for, if I am not greatly mistaken, it was here that he himself, the "child of promise," first gladdened the eyes of his aged parents. How else can we account for the remarkable import of the word Eltolad, which may be rendered "born of God," or "a supernatural birth"? We may well believe that the "father of the faithful" would not suffer such a memorable event to transpire without signalizing it in the manner then customary. We cannot but observe how prominently the narrative at this point recognises the important truth that "children are an heritage of the Lord."² While, however, the patriarchs were ever ready devoutly to acknowledge their obligations in this respect,³ such recognition was especially due in the case of Isaac, who, being "born after the Spirit,"⁴ and being raised from the dead "in a figure,"⁵ was so illustrious a type of Him who, as "the only

3.

a sense as the Hebrew, and is far more grammatical. What makes it yet more probable that the Sam. has here preserved the true text, is the fact that it agrees with the Sept., the Syriac, and the Vulgate Versions.

¹ See Gen. xx. 17, 18; xxi. 1—7.

² Gen. xxxiii. 5; xlvi. 4, 9.

³ Gal. iv. 29.

⁴ Heb. xi. 19.

begotten of the Father,"¹ was "declared to be the PART III. Son of God with power, according to the Spirit of holiness, by the resurrection from the dead."²

xxii. The 22nd city is *Chesil* (כְּסִיל). It is not mentioned elsewhere under this name; but there is a general agreement of opinion among critics that it is the same as the *Bethul* (בֵּתְוָל) of Josh. xix. 4, and the *Bethuel* (בֵּתְוָל) of 1 Chron. iv. 30.³ To these I would add the *Bethel* (בֵּיתְאֵל) of 1 Sam. xxx. 27, which is undoubtedly the place we are now considering.⁴ It is naturally mentioned first among the cities to which David sent presents, being (as we shall see) the one nearest to Ziklag, where he then was; and it is followed with equal appropriateness by Ramoth of the South (our 9th city, the modern Kurnub), which is the next nearest. This fourth instance, besides helping to determine the locality, is valuable as giving us the clue to the true etymology of the word. It would appear, indeed, from the Septuagint rendering (*Baιθηλ*) that *Chesil* was not the original word even in the present catalogue, but that it has been substituted for it since the Greek Version was made. This view is confirmed

¹ Joh. i. 14.

² Rom. i. 4.

³ Their identity of position is shown in the tabular statement of the three catalogues given in Sect. xx.

⁴ The *Bethel* north of Jerusalem cannot possibly be intended, inasmuch as it could never have been one of the "places where David himself and his men were wont to haunt" (ver. 31).

PART III. by the fact that in Josh. xix. 4, Chesil is the rendering of one MS. (209 K.). How, then, are we to explain this unusual procedure? The following is submitted as an easy and natural mode of solving the difficulty. This place has originally been a spot in which the worship of the true God has been carried on; but, in process of time, it has degenerated into a scene of heathenish revelry, precisely in the same manner that the other Bethel, as well as Dan (both early associated with the worship of Jehovah), sank into the depths of a debasing superstition. And as the northern *Bethel* (the house of God) was punished by being designated *Bethaven* (the house of nothingness); so here, the same honourable title was either disguised by intentional corruption (*Bethuel*, *Bethul*), or altogether supplanted by a word signifying "folly" (*Chesil*).¹ But a yet further analogy may be traced between the two Bethels. In the northern one, the same Hebrew letters which form the word *Aven*, become, by a slight change of punctuation, *On*, and thus refer to one of the many phases of idolatry—the

¹ See the remarks already made respecting *Bizjothjah-Baalah* in the nineteenth Section. Some passages are there cited, illustrative of the odious and contemptible character of idolatry; the following may here be adduced with equal propriety to show how it is invariably regarded in Holy Scripture as the height of "folly": 1 Sam. xii. 21; 2 Kings xvii. 15—17; Ps. xxxi. 6, cxv. 8, cxxxv. 18; Isa. xliv. 9—11; Jer. x. 8, xiv. 22; Hab. ii. 18, 19; Zech. x. 2; Acts xiv. 15; Rom. i. 21—23; 1 Cor. viii. 4.

worship of the sun.¹ Even so, the word *Chesil*, PART III. which literally means “fool,” also signifies the group of stars known as Orion. This is one of the five constellations which, from their brilliancy and seasonable appearance, attracted the admiration of observers from the earliest ages; the other four being Sirius, the Hyades, the Pleiades, and Arcturus. Orion was supposed by the Orientals to be the star of Nimrod, who, according to their mythology, was chained to heaven.² Hence the question of the Divine speaker, “Canst thou loose the bands of Orion (כְּסִיל)?” It Job ^{xxxviii.31.} is not surprising that it should have possessed such a hold of the eastern mind,³ when we find an observant traveller thus speaking of its effects on herself: “And then there was the rising of Orion. I have said that the constellations were less conspicuous than at home, from the universal brilliancy of the sky: but Orion shone forth, night by night, till the punctual and radiant apparition became almost oppressive to the watching sense.”⁴

It is not quite certain, however, that *Chesil* was applied exclusively to Orion. The Rabbinical writers understood it to refer to Sirius, which is called in

¹ We may compare the *On* of Gen. xli. 45 and the *Aven* of Ezek. xxx. 17 (both of which are rendered *Heliopolis* by the Sept.) with the *Beth-shemesh* (“house of the Sun”) of Jer. xlivi. 13.

² *Jour. Sac. Lit.* Oct. 1855, p. 226.

³ It frequently occurs in the Arabian romance of “Antar.” See, e.g., the *Jour. Sac. Lit.* for Jan. 1850, pp. 31, 34.

⁴ Miss Martineau’s *Scenes from the East*, i. p. 45.

PART III. Arabic سهيل *stultulus* (Gesen.)—thus recognising the same *paronomasia* as the Hebrew; and we know that it was used in the plural to signify the constellations generally.

Isa. xiii. 10.

It will be our safest course, therefore, to consider Chesil as a comprehensive term, descriptive of the star-worship which was once so prevalent among the eastern nations, especially the Arabians. We can the better understand this proneness on the part of the latter to the worship of the heavenly bodies, when we take into consideration the intense purity of the desert sky.¹ Its influence was not unfelt by Dr. Robinson, as he bivouacked on one occasion near 'Ain Hasb, and may be traced in the unwonted eloquence which for a time relieves the necessarily prosaic character of his narrative. “Above our heads (he writes) was the deep azure of an Oriental sky, studded with innumerable stars and brilliant constellations, on which we gazed with a higher interest from the bottom of this deep chasm..... Ten minutes after midnight we were again upon our camels. The moon had set, and all was dark; the night breeze cool and refreshing. All was still as the grave; nor did the noiseless tread of the camels in the sand break in at all upon the silence..... I watched with interest the dawning of the morning star; at length

¹ Compare Dr. Bonar's remarks on this subject, as well as his reference to the Zodiacial light, and to the Pleiades (pp. 246, 261).

about 3 o'clock it burst at once over the eastern PART III. mountains, radiant with brightness."¹

Our next object is to discover a site, not only answering to the other required conditions, but historically associated with this particular form of idolatry, *originating with a purer worship*.

Mr. Rowlands has suggested *el-Khulasah*, an important ruin a few miles S.W. of Beersheba, (the Elusa of the Greeks and Romans) as representing the ancient Chesil.² He does not give his reasons for arriving at this conclusion; we may, however, suppose him to have been influenced by the analogy both of *name*³ (allowance being made for the interchange of similar letters, and for the use of the Anagram), and of *position* (in relation to Hormah and Ziklag). These are important points of resemblance; but there are others, connected with the religious aspects of the spot, which place its identity with Chesil beyond all reasonable doubt.

(1) We have direct Scriptural evidence that in

¹ *Bib. Res.* ii. pp. 500, 501.

² Williams's *Holy City*, p. 488. This identification appears to be acquiesced in by Dr. Wilson (i. p. 342), Dr. Stewart (p. 205), and Prof. Kurtz (iii. pp. 227, 229, 336), and has not been called in question, I believe, by any writer, with one exception, to be referred to hereafter.

³ If we may trust Dr. Stewart's nomenclature in preference to that of Dr. Robinson, the wady (a little to the north of Khulasah) which is called by the latter *el-Khuza'y*, is, according to the former, *el-Khasali*—a very close approximation (if correct) to the ancient Chesil.

PART III. this immediate neighbourhood God's pure worship was solemnly performed, in a place duly set apart for the purpose. Soon after the birth of Isaac,—which we have seen reason to associate with the preceding city (Eltolad),—Abraham entered into covenant relations with Abimelech, king of the Philistines, at Beersheba. The sacred historian then relates that Abraham “planted a grove (literally, a Tamarisk, as the Hebrew imports)¹ in Beersheba, and called there on the name of the Lord, the everlasting God. And Abraham sojourned in the Philistines' land many days.”

Gen. xxi.
33, 34.

Now I think it will at once strike the reader of these verses, that the religious act here indicated was of a more significant and permanent character than that recorded in connection either with Shechem² or the northern Bethel.³ And yet we find Shechem regarded by the Israelites as hallowed ground, from this its early association with their great ancestor:⁴ nor is it improbable that Jacob's steps were directed to the future Bethel by the recollection that the place had already been consecrated by the prayers of “the friend of God;” so that we may well believe that no small portion of its subsequent sanctity was derived from the fact that there “prayer was wont to be made” long before Jacob's special act of dedication. If, then,

¹ See this subject fully discussed at the close of this Section.

² Gen. xii. 6, 7.

³ Ib. xii. 8, xiii. 4.

⁴ Josh. xxiv. 1, 26; Judg. ix. 6.

the already existing and perhaps desecrated Oak of PART III. Shechem, under which Abraham reared his temporary altar, became a sacred tree for long centuries; with how much greater veneration would that Tamarisk, planted in the southern wilderness by Abraham's own hands, be regarded by Ishmael and his descendants, and how much higher a sanctity would attach to the place where he had worshipped, not for one passing day, but day by day and sabbath after sabbath through many successive years.¹

(2) The next inquiry is, what was the precise situation of this place of worship, thus solemnly inaugurated by Abraham?

Our version represents the patriarch as planting his tamarisk "*in Beersheba*" (בְּבָאָר-שְׁבָע). Now it appears to me improbable in the extreme that he would fix upon a spot for devotional purposes—whose greatest recommendation must surely have been its comparative seclusion—close to a public well, and that, too, such as Beersheba, which, from the quality as well as quantity of its water, was an object of envy and contention on the part of the Philistines in the

¹ It is not so much as said that Abraham "pitched his tent" at Shechem; nor is it recorded that he ever returned thither: on the other hand, we know that Beersheba continued to be one of the permanent patriarchal residences (Gen. xxii. 19; xxvi. 23—25; xxviii. 10). That the expression "many days" signifies at least three years, is evident from a comparison of 1 Kings ii. 38 with ver. 39, and of Acts ix. 23 with Gal. i. 18.

PART III. days both of Abraham and Isaac,¹ and is even now jointly resorted to by two Arab tribes.²

We are not, however, required to place Abraham's sanctuary or "house of God," as he probably called it,³ in close contiguity to the well of Beersheba. The preposition *beth* (בֵּת) is often used in the sense of "near" or "by," and is even so translated in the Authorized Version.⁴ This undoubted latitude of meaning enables us to assign such a position to Abraham's Bethel, that, while strictly within the *district* of Beersheba,⁵ it yet satisfies all the other requirements to which I have adverted.

¹ Gen. xxi. 25, 30, 31; xxvi. 18, 25, 32, 33.

² *Bib. Res.* ii. p. 473. It is not unlikely that the Philistines stipulated, in their two treaties with the patriarchs, for a similar community of access to waters which Robinson describes as "pure and sweet, and in great abundance; the finest indeed we had found since leaving Sinai." *Ib.* i. p. 301.

³ This will explain why Jacob gave the name *Bethel* to the scene of his vision near Luz. He had probably been *accustomed* to the title in connection with Divine manifestations, and naturally conferred it on the spot which had become so memorable to himself. The term "House of God" had by no means that restricted sense which is generally supposed. We find it regularly applied to the tabernacle (Josh. ix. 23; Judg. xviii. 31; Ps. xlii. 4, &c.) as well as the temple (1 Chron. ix. 11, &c.). Compare also the cognate expression in Ps. lxxxiii. 12.

⁴ See, *e.g.*, Josh. v. 13, where the scene of the narrative must have lain at a distance of several miles from Jericho. And yet, at the same time, Joshua may be said to have been "*in* Jericho" in the wider sense of being in the *district* of which Jericho was the centre or capital (Deut. xxxiv. 3; Josh. iv. 13, 19; v. 10; 2 Kings xxv. 5). Other examples may be seen in Josh. xxiv. 26; Judg. ix. 6; xviii. 12; Ezek. x. 15.

⁵ That Beersheba gave its name to a tract of country extending to

(3) But the testimony of Scripture does not stop PART III. here. The prophet Amos expressly declares that, instead of the pure worship of Jehovah which had formerly prevailed in this place, there was in his time an organized system of star-worship, which was exercising a most corrupting influence on the degenerate Hebrews. "Thus saith the Lord, seek ye Me, and ye shall live: but seek not Bethel, nor enter into Gilgal, *and pass not to Beersheba*. . . . Seek the Lord, and ye shall live. . . . Seek Him that maketh the seven stars (the Pleiades), *and Orion (Chesil)*. . . . But ye have borne the tabernacle of your Moloch (the Sun, or perhaps Saturn) and Chiun (Sirius) your images, the *star* of your god, which ye made to yourselves." And again: "They that swear by the sin ^{Amos v.} of Samaria, and say, Thy god, O Dan, liveth; ^{4—6, 8,} *and the manner* ("the worship," according to Lowth and Newcome—"the *god*," according to the Sept. and Secker) of *Beersheba* liveth; even they shall fall, and never rise up again." ^{Amos viii.} ^{14.}

The state of things thus recorded by Amos had probably been of long standing even in his day. There is reason to believe that during the protracted sojourn of the Israelites in Egypt, the Arabians, retaining their veneration for the southern Bethel

a considerable distance south of it, we are positively informed (Gen. xxi. 14). Hagar was doubtless making her way southwestwards, as on a former occasion (xvi. 7), along the caravan route leading (then as now) from central Palestine to her native country, Egypt.

PART III. on account of its connection with Abraham, made it one of the seats of that worship of the heavenly bodies to which they were so addicted before the Muhammedan era.¹ How natural, therefore, was it that the Jews, after their return from Babylon, cured of their proneness to idolatry, should brand the desecrated spot with the name *Chesil*.²

It is curious to trace this worship down to the end of the fourth century. Jerome distinctly testifies to the fact that the great majority of the inhabitants of Elusa, who were connected with the Saracens of the adjacent desert, held an annual festival in the temple of Venus, *whom they worshipped as the morning star*.³ And Sozomen, a contemporary writer of

¹ Another of their sacred places appears to have been *Jebel Serbâl*—doubtless so called in honour of Baal or the Sun—where the Arabs still sacrifice a sheep annually. See Drew's *Scripturæ Lands*, pp. 425, 426. Lond. 1860. Here, too, there is an evident degeneration from the worship of the true God; which, as Ritter suggests, had given this imposing height its early sanctity as “the mountain of God” (Ex. iii. 1), and of which Jethro was so interesting a representative.

² Kennicott has fully shown that the later Jews were in the habit of altering the Hebrew text in the case of sacred *names* (*Dissert.* i. pp. 157, 158, 320, 321, 354, 459, 481, 503, 510, 511, 522, 540). The inference is a reasonable one that they would not hesitate to do the same in respect of sacred *places*. How otherwise, indeed, can we account for the actual state of the Hebrew and Greek text in relation to this city?

³ *Bib. Res.* i. p. 298. See the original passage, which Dr. Robinson does not render quite accurately, cited by a writer in the *Jour. Sac. Lit.* for April 1860, pp. 41, 42, to whom I have already had occasion to refer. He makes a hopeless attempt to identify *Khulasah* with *Kadesh*; I venture, however, to affirm that his reasoning, so far as it can be sustained, applies with tenfold force to 'Ain el-Kadeis.

the Eastern church, speaks of it under its original PART III. name, Bethelia, "a town (he says) belonging to the inhabitants of Gaza,¹ well peopled, and having several temples remarkable for their structure and antiquity; particularly a Pantheon, situated on an eminence made of earth, brought thither for the purpose, which commanded the whole city. I conjecture (continues Sozomen) that this place was named Bethelia, which signifies the House of God, by reason of this temple."² The best commentary on these accounts is the description given by modern travellers of the present condition of el-Khulasah: "These ruins cover an area of 15 or 20 acres, throughout which the foundations and enclosures of houses are distinctly to be traced, and squared stones are everywhere thinly scattered. Toward the western side are two open

¹ Singularly enough, Gaza still asserts its claims on Khulasah. There is something mournful in the kind of tribute it yet exacts from its ancient dependency. Khulasah has nothing now to give but its crumbling stones! "Unlike Ruheibeh and 'Aujeh (writes Dr. Stewart), much of the stone has been removed from these ruins, and marks of recent digging and quarrying among them led to the explanation that the inhabitants of Gaza—which is only one day's journey hence—send camels and carry away the stones wholesale for building purposes, as this costs less trouble than quarrying them in the neighbourhood" (*Tent and Khan*, p. 206). This explains, also, why Khulasah appears to recent travellers a less important ruin than Dr. Robinson's description of its state twenty-four years ago might lead them to expect. See Drew's *Scripture Lands*, p. 22. I make this remark in justice to Dr. Robinson's high character as an accurate and intelligent observer.

² Quoted in Graham's *Topograph. Dict. of Palestine*, pp. 39, 40. Lond. 1836.

PART III. places, perhaps open squares of the ancient city.

Several large heaps of hewn stones, in various parts, probably mark the sites of public buildings; but they are thrown together in too much confusion to be easily made out. Occasional fragments of columns and entablatures were visible. We judged that here must have been a city with room enough for a population of fifteen or twenty thousand souls."¹ "The city stood upon an island formed by two wadys, which separate a little above the ancient town, and unite again about a quarter of a mile below it. There are two square ruins near each other, about the centre of the city, which stand isolated from all the rest."² "The remains are very extensive; and the stones are of all sizes and shapes,— showing even in their fragments the carefulness with which they had been hewn and prepared. Hard by (the dry bed of a stream) were the ruins of large buildings, some square, others circular, the stones not rude but well-hewn. The stones of Elusa lie scattered over the valley, with great quantities of pottery of all colours,—white, black, and red."³

The last mentioned writer has expressed his dissent from the generally received opinion that the

¹ *Bib. Res.* i. pp. 296, 297.

² Stewart's *Tent and Khan*, pp. 205, 206.

³ Bonar's *Desert of Sinai*, pp. 320—323.

Eshel (אַשָּׁל) of Gen. xxi. 33, 1 Sam. xxii. 6, xxxi. 13, PART III. signifies the Tarfa or Tamarisk. The following considerations may, however, serve to show that his arguments are of little avail against the overwhelming preponderance of counter-evidence both external and internal :—

(1) Dr. Bonar says, that he “never heard the name *Eshel* applied to the tamarisk tree in the desert or in Palestine.”¹ This is readily granted; and yet it does not necessarily follow that others have not been more fortunate in this respect. The best Hebrew and Arabic scholars are agreed in considering *Eshel* as synonymous with *Athul* (pronounced *Asul*), one of the Arabic words for Tamarisk tree: while Sir R. K. Porter tells us that he found this very name applied by the Arabs to the venerable tamarisk which is the sole representative of the famous hanging gardens of Babylon; Prof. Royle gives similar testimony with regard to India and Egypt; and, what is yet more to the point, both he and Burckhardt positively affirm that this is also the case in Arabia itself.

(2) He argues that the tamarisk “is not a likely tree to be planted for its shade. Its leaves are so thin and wiry, that they give no shelter either from heat or rain.” It may well be doubted whether our author has not in these words unduly depreciated

¹ *Desert of Sinai*, pp. 357, 358.

PART III. the tamarisk, without, of course, intending to do so ; for he himself says elsewhere, "In how many ways did God refresh us in the desert ! Sometimes it was the 'shadow of a cloud that brought down the heat ;' sometimes it was the 'shadow of a great rock ;' sometimes it was the foliage of the palm, or the *tarfa*, or the *ritt'm* ; and sometimes it was the genial breeze." And in the same page he adds, "We found ourselves in a wood of *tarfa*-trees, of considerable extent."¹ In this identical grove, Dr. Stewart's sheikh, foreseeing a coming storm, was anxious, "for the sake of his camels, to *avail himself of the shelter of the trees.*"² There is nothing, indeed, to prevent our understanding *Eshel* in Gen. xxi. 33 (which is without the article) to signify" a *grove* of tamarisks," which is the rendering of Rosenmüller, Boothroyd, and others.

(3) He further alleges that "in the desert it is a small tree, and even in Egypt and at Sidon, where it is seen to best advantage, it is not a large one." The grove in Wady es-Sheikh, just mentioned, is characterized by Dr. Stewart as "of respectable size," notwithstanding the recklessness of the Arabs, and the destructive agencies constantly operating against all vegetation in the peninsula. Professor Royle, however, adduces facts which prove that, under favourable circumstances, it attains the size

¹ *Desert of Sinai*, p. 245.

² *Tent and Khan*, p. 155.

“magnæ olivæ,” and even “of a large oak.” The PART III. ancient tamarisk of Babylon, to which I have already referred, although but a wreck of what it once was, shows by the great circumference of its now hollow trunk, that it must have been a tree of stately proportions. It is still more satisfactory to find a similar luxuriance of growth in Arabia Petræa. A French naturalist, M. Bové, saw “some very large (très gros) tamarisks” between Suez and Gaza; and the day before reaching the latter place, that is to say, in the very region of Beersheba, he came to a valley, which he calls Lésare, “full of tamarisks, three or four yards in circumference, and from twelve to fifteen yards in height.”¹

(4) Dr. Bonar’s next argument, founded on 1 Sam. xxii. 6, that “no tarfa-tree that we saw or heard of would admit of” Saul and all his servants standing under it,—is at once disposed of by a reference to the precise phraseology of the passage, which only asserts that Saul himself was under the tree.

(5) The last objection is based on the apparent discrepancy between 1 Sam. xxxi. 13 (which speaks of “the *Eshel*” at Jabesh-Gilead) and 1 Chron. x. 12 (where the same tree is called “the *Elah*”)². This, although formidable at first sight, is obviated by

¹ Kitto’s *Cyc. of Bib. Lit.* sub voce *Eshel*.

² תַּלְמָדָח.

PART III. a consideration of the primary meaning of *Elah*.

Derived from a root (אֹלֶה or אֵלֶּה) which imports strength, it generically denotes “the tree” or “the strong tree,” while it applies specifically to the principal or characteristic tree of the particular region referred to.¹ Thus, in the desert it is the Palm, as at El-Paran and Elim; in central Canaan it is the Terebinth and (with a slight modification) the Oak; and in the Ghôr or valley of the Jordan, it is the Tamarisk; as is very evident from the minute observations of Lieut. Lynch, who navigated its entire extent,² and of Dr. Robinson, who, when crossing the Jordan, opposite Wady Yâbis, by a ford over an island, mentions “the many tamarisks upon it,” and speaks of two former channels of the river as “full of tamarisks, *the most common tree just here.*”³

¹ Stanley’s *Sinai and Palestine*, pp. 22, 507—509. Compare Buxtorf and Gesenius. It is better, I think, to refer *Allah* and *Allon* to the same root as *Elah*, than to an imaginary root נָלֵה.

² North of Beisân, he says, “The prevailing growth upon the banks were the ghurrah (like the aspen), the *tamarisk*, willow and oleander. Stopped to rest in a grove of tamarisk (p. 201). Opposite Beisân, he speaks of the “tents half hidden by the pale green willow, and the deeper shadow of the *tamarisk*” (p. 206). Further south, “the eastern bank was fringed with tamarisk and willow” (p. 212), and again, “the shore was covered to the water’s edge with the tamarisk and willow” (p. 216). When opposite Wady Yâbis (Jabesh-Gilead) he writes, “The prevailing trees on the banks have been the willow, the ghurrah, and the *tamarisk*; the last now beginning to blossom” (pp. 217, 218). Finally, a little south of this, “the vegetation” is described as “more luxuriant,” in proof of which it is specially noticed that “*the tamarisk was more dense and lofty*” (p. 246. See also pp. 200, 233, 241).

³ *Later Bib. Res.* p. 316. I am unable to concur with this learned

We can now understand why Abraham made PART III. choice of the Tamarisk on this occasion. It was not because it was superior to the oaks of Moreh and Mamre or the palms of Jericho and Elim; but because the oak required a richer soil and a greater elevation than Khulasah (which is only 704 feet above the sea), while the palm, on the other hand, would have languished without the tropical temperature and brackish waters of the southern Ghôr. The patriarch, therefore, displayed his wisdom in selecting for his new abode the largest kind of tree which would flourish in that locality; one, moreover, which attains an enormous age, whose wood is valuable for its hardness and convertibility into charcoal, and its galls for their medicinal properties. And if the Arabs of the present day regard as sacred the tamarisk which grows among the ruins of Babylon, because it afforded the Caliph Ali a temporary resting-place after the battle of Hillah; much more would the Ishmaelites of old be likely to venerate the tamarisk which shaded the sanctuary writer in the position he assigns to Jabesh-Gilead. The only test which he applies is the specification of Eusebius and Jerome (6 n. m. from Pella); and this it assuredly fails to satisfy, if we may judge of the distance from Pella by his own map. Moreover, the Scriptural notices of Jabesh-Gilead would lead us to look for its site, not on the mountains, but either in the wady which yet bears its name, or in the Ghôr at or near its mouth. Two such sites actually occur; viz., et-Tût (Van de Velde, ii. p. 349) and Tell el-Hujeijah (Robinson's *Later Bib. Res.* p. 315), perhaps the same as Buckingham's Jehaz or Jejaz (*Cyc. of Bib. Lit.* sub voce).

PART III. where their great forefather had worshipped during
"many days."

xxiii. The 23rd city, *Hormah* (חרמָה), is mentioned several times, and a glance at the different passages, with their respective contexts, will supply us with valuable materials for determining its site.

(1) According to Num. xiv. 45, it was situated on the southern verge of the elevated region inhabited by the Canaanites and Amalekites. Now we know that the chief city of the Canaanites in this Num. xxi. quarter was Arad; and that the "country (field) of 1. the Amalekites" extended from S.W. to N.E., between Kadesh and Engedi.

7.

(2) We learn from Num. xxi. 3, that Hormah was not the original name of this place, but was conferred upon it by the Hebrews to signalize their victory over the king of Arad.

(3) Deut. i. 44 informs us that the high terrace or steppe, towards the south of which Hormah stood, was called *Seir* (שֵׂיר). It is interesting to note, in illustration of this, that the name *es-Serr* is still given to the lofty plateau, E. of 'Ain Rakhmah, which overhangs Wady Murreh,¹ and that the Arabs who now inhabit this tract are called *Sa'idiyeh*,—*Sa'id* being not improbably a corruption of *Seir*; in which case, the south-westerly direction of this

¹ Williams's *Holy City*, p. 488. Kurtz, iii. p. 233. This *Seir* is not, of course, to be confounded with the proper territory of Edom south of Wady Murreh. See Pt. III. Sects. ii., vii.

country is indicated by the name *Sa'îdât* given to PART III. a wady north of the *Jerûr*.

(4) In *Josh. xii. 14*, *Hormah* is coupled with *Arad*, with which (as I have elsewhere remarked) there was evidently an intimate connection, either of alliance or subordination.

(5) In *Josh. xv. 30*, *xix. 4*, and *1 Chron. iv. 30*, it is mentioned between *Chesil* and *Ziklag*. We shall see in the next Section how decisively this thrice repeated juxtaposition implies a situation closely contiguous to *el-Khulasah*.

(6) In *1 Sam. xxx. 30*, it is enumerated after "the cities of the *Jerahmeelites*" (*Wady Rakhmah*) and "the cities of the *Kenites*" (near *Arad*).

(7) Finally, in *Judg. i. 17* we are told that it was originally called *Zephath*. This is important information; for it is very probable that the spot is now known only under the old name, which frequently recovers in the end that ascendancy which for a time it had yielded to a more recent designation.

Two places have been proposed as representing the ancient *Hormah* or *Zephath*. One, advocated by Dr. Robinson, is the pass *es-Sufâh*, leading from *Wady Murreh* to the *Sa'îdîyeh* plateau. This has little to recommend it beyond the resemblance of name, and would never probably have been thought of, but for the necessities of the 'Ain *el-Weibeh*

PART III. theory, which requires us to suppose that the Israelites made their unsuccessful invasion of Palestine by way of this most difficult and (for an army) all but impracticable defile. Professors Tuch¹ and Kurtz,² have demonstrated the utter improbability of such a supposition, as well as of the entire hypothesis of which it is an essential part. It is only necessary, therefore, to add, that the rugged and desolate character of the locality is altogether incompatible with the idea, that any settlement larger than a mere fort, much more, that an important city, such as the frequent mention of Hormah proves it to have been, could possibly have existed here.

We turn, then, to the other suggestion, for which we are indebted to Mr. Rowlands. Proceeding from Khulasah in a south-westerly direction for two hours and a-half, and while yet a quarter of an hour distant from the Bir er-Ruheibeh (well of Rehoboth), he came to the extensive ruins in the wady of the same name which were first brought to light by Dr. Robinson; who, unable to ascertain their proper title, was surprised and puzzled to find remains of such importance, called, as he supposed, er-Ruheibeh; whereas that designation was strictly applicable only to the ancient well of Isaac further down the wady. Mr. Rowlands was told by his guides (from Gaza),

¹ *Jour. Sac. Lit.* July 1848, pp. 92—94.

² *Old Cov.* iii. p. 240.

who seem to have been unusually well-informed, that PART III. these ruins were named Sepâta, or rather, *Sebâta*.¹

This site will be found to fulfil all the conditions above indicated.

(1) It is situated in Wady er-Ruheibeh, which is the principal entrance from the S.W. to the open country forming the southernmost plateau of Palestine proper. In this direction the Israelites would naturally betake themselves, in their precipitate flight, as the *easiest* mode of egress; and the Canaanites would as naturally pursue them no further than the extremity of the plain. This does not necessarily imply that the Israelites had *entered* the country so far west as this. They appear to have made their onset by the pass el-Haudeh, as already suggested.²

(2) On the subsequent and more successful attack, they probably ascended by the more practicable en-

¹ Williams, p. 483. Dr. Wilson (i. p. 342) has rightly pointed out a slight error of pronunciation on the part of Mr. Rowlands; the Arabic language not possessing the letter *p*. Doubtless his guides made use of the cognate *b*, which is the usual Arabic substitute, as in the modern Bâniâs for Paneas. While, however, thus critical as to details, Dr. Wilson is evidently disposed to favour the identification, which is supported by Tuch (*Jour. Sac. Lit.* July 1848, pp. 93, 94,) and Kurtz, (iii. pp. 227, 336). The more southern Arabs do not appear to be very familiar with this part of the wilderness. We have seen that Dr. Robinson's guides could give him no information; Dr. Stewart speaks of "the Bîr Ruheibeh, and near it a ruined town of the same name" (p. 202); and Dr. Bonar observes, "The city is said by some travellers to be called Ruheibeh; but the only name by which our sheikh (like Dr. Stewart's, from Nukhl) knew the place was *Khurbet el-Bîr*, 'the ruins of the well.'"

² Sect. xv. of this Part.

PART III. trance of Wady er-Ruheibeh, where, it would seem, the king of Arad was awaiting them, and where he sustained so signal a defeat as to leave behind it a long-enduring memorial in the altered name of the place.

(3) Moreover, es-Sebâta is in close connection with Khulasah, which, in the last Section, was identified with Chesil or Bethul; while the next, it is hoped, will show that it is similarly related to Ziklag: which certainly cannot be predicated of es-Sufâh.

(4) Once more, the position of Sebâta, as "the great point from which the roads across the desert, after having been all united, again diverge towards Gaza and Hebron,"¹ together with its superior elevation (being 1100 feet above the sea, and about 400 feet higher than the Khulasah), marks it as an admirable place for a military post or watch-tower, which is the meaning of Zephath. Accordingly, among the ruins specified by Robinson, is "a square tower of hewn stones on a hill, with a large heap of stones adjoining."²

Since writing the above, I find that Dr. Stewart, while acquiescing in Mr. Rowlands' identification of Zephath with Sebâta, questions the correctness of the position assigned to it by that gentleman. He

¹ *Bib. Res.* i. p. 291.

² *Ib.* i. p. 295.

says that on failing to discover the site at the spot PART III. indicated by Mr. Rowlands, he interrogated his guides on the subject, and they told him "that directly E. from Khulasah there are ruins called Khurbet Sebâta at the foot of the Magrah mountains, which were in sight."¹ This is certainly very different from Mr. Rowlands' account, which, in common with Professors Tuch and Kurtz, I had understood as referring to the ruins in Wady er-Ruheibeh. On a careful reconsideration, however, of this matter, I am disposed to abide by my original conclusion, for the following reasons:—

(1) Either from the long interval between Dr. Stewart's journey and the publication of his book (three years), which may have confused his recollection of names and places, or, perhaps, from the indolence, carelessness, or ignorance of his Arabs, there are serious discrepancies between his topography and that of Dr. Robinson, where the two routes coincide; and when we consider the well-tested and universally acknowledged accuracy of observation which distinguishes the learned author of the "Biblical Researches," there will be little hesitation as to the quarter which should secure our preference in this conflict of testimony.

(2) The strange misapprehension which Dr. Stewart betrays respecting the position of 'Ain el-Kadeis

¹ *Tent and Khan*, p. 205.

PART III. (Kadesh), discovered by Mr. Rowlands, compels us to doubt either the knowledge of his informants or the retentiveness of his own memory. He represents Mr. Rowlands as placing Kadesh "some fifteen or twenty miles to the west" of Moilâhhi or Hagar's well, "and consequently far to the S.W. of Gaza:"¹ whereas (in the words of Prof. Kurtz) "according to the data furnished by Rowlands, the site of 'Ain Kadeis is about twelve English miles to the E.S.E. of Moilâhhi, almost due south of Khulasah, near the point at which the longitude of Khulasah intersects the latitude of 'Ain el-Weibeh;" to which he adds, "Raumer, Tuch, Winer, and Fries, all agree with the account given above of Rowlands' 'Ain Kadeis."² Moreover, the account which Dr. Stewart's Sheikh gave of what he was pleased to call 'Ain el-Khâdes, —that it was so high up Jebel Helâl "that no camels could approach it, but that a man, with a water-skin slung on his back, could get at it by climbing with his hands and feet,"³—is so extraordinary and improbable, that it can only be deemed an ingenious fiction, invented by the Sheikh for the purpose of either concealing his own ignorance, indulging his love of humour, or deterring the traveller from turning aside to visit the spot.

(3) Lastly, in reference to Sebâta, we have, on the

¹ *Tent and Khan*, p. 195.

² *Old Cov.* iii. p. 228.

³ *Tent and Khan*, p. 189.

one hand, mere hearsay information derived from an PART III. Arab notoriously capable of acting in the manner just described;¹ and, on the other hand, the circumstantial

¹ "A traveller (says Burckhardt) ought, if possible, to see everything with his own eyes, for the reports of the Arabs are little to be depended on, with regard to what may be interesting in point of antiquity: they often extol things which upon examination prove to be of no kind of interest, and speak with indifference of those which are curious and important" (*Syria*, p. 431). And again he observes, "We passed several beds of torrents, but my guides could not, or would not, tell their names. The Bedawin are generally averse to satisfying the traveller's curiosity on such subjects; not being able to conceive what interest he has in informing himself of mere names, they ascribe to repeated questions of this nature improper motives" (p. 501). Dr. Robinson also has some valuable remarks on the local knowledge of the Arabs, and their trustworthiness in this respect. A little north of 'Ain el-Weibeh, he writes, "We crossed several wadys, of which our (Jehâlin) Arabs did not know the names. Indeed, they seemed to be quite lost, as if they were entire strangers to the region. We had found it at all times difficult to get information from them, owing partly to their ignorance, partly to carelessness, and somewhat to unwillingness. *All Arabs are usually ignorant of the localities two or three days distant from their own country;* but the general intelligence of our present guides was the most limited we had yet met with, and we never found more difficulty in eliciting information. *Nor could we put trust in that which they did communicate, without much cross-examination and other confirmatory evidence.*" Once more, adverting to the want of a good understanding between a certain traveller and his guides, he says, "Whoever knows anything of the Bedawin, must be well aware that, under such circumstances, no trustworthy information is to be elicited from them. Their obstinacy manifests itself sometimes in reserve or evasion, and sometimes in a disposition to mislead" (*Bib. Res.* ii. pp. 585, 586, 660). If Burckhardt and Robinson were thus occasionally at fault, with every advantage of long and familiar acquaintance with the Arabic language; how liable to mistakes and misconceptions must ordinary travellers be, necessarily dependent as they are, in their various communications with the natives, on interpreters who are generally ignorant and illiterate, always mercenary and indif-

PART III. testimony of an intelligent and conscientious Englishman, himself an eye-witness of the scene which he describes. If, however, we attribute Sheikh Menhazen's location of Khurbet es-Sebâta to ignorance rather than fraud or frolic, we may assume that he knew of the existence of ruins E., or rather S.E., of Khulasah (for in that very direction, as we shall see, lie the remains of Ziklag); and so, on Dr. Stewart's asking him if he knew of a site called Sebâta, nothing could be easier than to give that title to the remains in question, with whose real name he was probably unacquainted.

xxiv. The 24th city is *Ziklag* (צִקְלָג), the frequent mention of which in Scripture furnishes us with data sufficient to enable us to fix its site.

(1) No less than three passages¹ concur in naming it immediately after Chesil and Hormah; which leads us to look for it at no great distance from Khulasah and Sebâta.

(2) In 1 Sam. xxvii. 5—7, 11, it is said to have been in the “field (פָּדָשׁ) of the Philistines;” and yet different. Another source of error is indicated in the following sentence from Dr. Bonar's *Desert of Sinai*: “I could not pick up the Arab name, as our Bedawîn happened to be merry, and gave me what I afterwards discovered to be a mere nickname” (p. 255). Here, too, we have the advantage of Burckhardt's corroborative testimony: “Some cunning is often required to get proper answers; and they frequently give false names, for no other reason than to have the pleasure of deluding the inquirer, and laughing at him among themselves behind his back” (p. 501).

¹ Josh. xv. 31, xix. 5, and 1 Chron. iv. 30.

it is implied that it was at a considerable distance PART III. from Gath, as David's object evidently was to escape the close observation of Achish. Ziklag must, therefore, have been situated towards the southern or south-eastern extremity of the "wide open country which spreads itself out on every side,"¹ partly arable but chiefly pastoral (exactly answering to the meaning of *נְהַרְוָה*), on which the traveller enters after emerging from Wady er-Ruheibeh.

(3) From Ziklag David "went up" against the Amalekites and other marauding tribes, from whom he took spoil of sheep, *oxen*, asses and camels. This ^{1 Sam.} agrees with the other notices of the Amalekites, as ^{xxvii. 8.} occupying the high plateau (er-Rakhmah) which overhangs the Philistian plain to the west and Wady Murreh to the south;² while the mention of oxen among the spoil, shows that the predatory hordes whom David chastised on this occasion, must have penetrated far into the interior; for south and east of the Judæan mountains the country is not adapted to the sustenance of cattle.³ This is confirmed by the account of the subsequent invasion by the Amalekites

¹ *Bib. Res.* i. p. 296.

² See Pt. I. Sects. v. ix., Pt. III. Sect. viii. § 3. Dr. Stewart writes thus from the neighbourhood of Beersheba: "We had a good view of the mountains of the Desert which we had left, as well as of the hills of Judah before us. *Jebel Magrâh* was still in sight to the south; *the range of Jebel Rachmah* to the south-east; and behind it, but more to the east, another chain called *Ras Taréibeh*" (p. 215).

³ As far north as the plain of Beersheba, Mr. Drew writes,

PART III. during David's absence, when cattle again formed part of the spoil recovered by him, and when, moreover, we are expressly told that "the Negeb of the Cherethites (or Philistines—*i. e.*, the territory of the Tiyâhah and western 'Azâzimeh), of Judah (including the Jerahmeelites or Sa'idiyeh, and the Kenites or Dhullâm), and even of Caleb" (the Jehâlin), were the portions of country which suffered.¹

(4) It is further implied in the passage just cited,

"Flocks of sheep and goats, of camels and asses, were browsing everywhere; but we saw no oxen" (*Scripture Lands*, p. 6). We may compare with this, a notice respecting the Ta'âmirah Arabs in Pt. II. Sect. iii. § 1. No sooner, however, does the traveller ascend into the "Hill Country," than his language is changed. "For the first time (says Mr. Stephens) since I left the banks of the Nile, I saw a herd of cows" (*Incidents of Travel*, ch. xxiv. p. 79). Dr. Stewart, immediately after passing Dhoherîyeh, speaks of "flocks of broad-tailed sheep and goats and herds of horned cattle; the latter being as great a novelty as the horses to one coming from the Desert, where they are unknown. They were small rough animals, resembling very much the Highland breed" (*Tent and Khan*, p. 222). The southernmost point at which they have been met with is the Wady 'Arâ'ah, where (says Dr. Wilson) "we came upon one or two small herds of cattle. They were like most of those which we saw in other parts of Syria, of a small size, with brown and rather shaggy hair, short horns, and small hams. Black cattle are by no means abundant in any part of the country" (*Lands of the Bible*, i. pp. 346, 347). The Scottish Deputation, coming from Egypt along the shore of the Mediterranean, first mention cattle when a little south of Gaza (*Narrative*, p. 96).

¹ 1 Sam. xxx. 14. Cf. xxvii. 10. Dr. Stanley observes that the country invaded by the Amalekites was that which had been formerly occupied by them, and from which they had been driven by Saul (*Sinai and Palestine*, p. 160). That their territory extended at least as far as 'Arâ'ah, is evident from the fact that *oxen* formed part of the spoil taken from them by Saul (1 Sam. xv. 9, 14, 15).

as well as in others, that Ziklag must have lain on PART III. the confines alike of Philistia, Judah, and Amalek. Such a position explains, too, how it came to pass that a city, originally belonging to Judah, and then allotted to Simeon, should afterwards be found in the dominions of Achish. It is ever the fate of border cities frequently to change masters.

These several indications enable us to confirm and adopt the happy conjecture of Mr. Rowlands that Ziklag is to be identified with *'Aslūj* or *Kaslūj*,¹ a ruined site of which he was told, about three hours east of Sebāta,² and of which Dr. Robinson had previously heard as lying S.W. of Milh in the way to 'Abdeh ('Aujeh).³ This situation exactly meets the several requirements of the sacred narrative, and the principal letters of the word, especially in one of its forms, are almost identical with the Hebrew;⁴ we cannot doubt, therefore, that *'Aslūj* or *Kaslūj* is the veritable representative of the ancient Ziklag.

xxv. Reland, Keil, and others are, doubtless, correct in considering our 25th city, *Madmannah*

¹ This is an example of the dialectic variations in the mode of pronouncing some of the Arabic letters, with which we are constantly meeting in books of travel, according to the different tribes to which the guides belong.

² Williams, p. 489; Kurtz, iii. p. 227.

³ *Bib. Res.* ii. p. 621; iii. App. p. 115.

⁴ The first syllable of *Kaslūj* is merely an inversion of the corresponding syllable of Ziklag, in accordance with the well-known principle of the *Anagram*.

PART III. (מדמָנָה) to be the same as the *Beth-Marcaboth* of Josh. xix. 5 and 1 Chron. iv. 31; the former being the proper name, and the latter merely an appellative ("place of chariots" or "wagons").

This meaning limits our choice to the north-western corner of the Negeb, the only portion of it which presents such a uniformity of surface as would admit of the employment of wheel-carriages. Van de Velde's conjecture, therefore, that this city was situated about half-way between Kurnub and the upper Zuweirah pass, where, "on the top of a hill.... difficult to reach," a ruin called el-Mirkib was pointed out to him by his guides,¹ is clearly inadmissible.

Moreover, we are expressly told by Eusebius and Jerome that Madmannah still survived in their time, under the name of *Mηνωις*, as a hamlet not far from Gaza. This answers to the modern *Minyây*, a station on the regular route from Egypt to western Palestine, about 15 miles S.S.W. of Gaza.² At this latter city, the road not only continued along the sea-shore, but branched off in a N.E. direction towards

¹ *Travels*, ii. p. 130. The unsuitableness of such a locality is yet further made manifest by his large map of Palestine, subsequently published, which represents Mirkib as standing on a "steep and rocky range."

² *Bib. Res.* i. p. 563. Cf. Zimmermann's *Map*. Since writing the above, I have discovered that Dr. Robinson, in his second edition, appears to have arrived independently at the same conclusion; if we may judge from the word *MINOIS* inserted under *Minyây* in the map attached to his *Later Biblical Researches*.

Jerusalem;¹ it still retains the suggestive name PART III. "Sultana" (the royal road),² perhaps a reminiscence of King Solomon, who doubtless improved the already existing route in order to facilitate the traffic in horses and chariots which he maintained with Egypt.³

The position and significance both of this and the next city in the catalogue are strikingly illustrated by a felicitous remark of Professor Stanley. Referring to the names of places in the South Country, he observes that some of them "indicate that they were stations of passage, like those which now are to be seen on the great line of Indian transit between Cairo and Suez. In "Beth-marcaboth," "the house of chariots," and "Hazar-Susim," "the village of horses," we recognise the depôts and stations for the "horses" and "chariots" such as those which in Solomon's time went to and fro between Egypt and Palestine."⁴

¹ It is interesting to note that this was the route taken by the Ethiopian nobleman who had come to Jerusalem to worship, and who was returning "*in his chariot*" along "the way that goeth down from Jerusalem unto Gaza," when Philip met with him (Acts viii. 26—28).

² *Bib. Res.* ii. pp. 338, 340.

³ 1 Kings x. 28, 29. With equal probability we may suppose that the easiest road between Jaffa and Jerusalem, to this day called Wady Suleimân, "the valley of Solomon" (*Bib. Res.* iii. pp. 57, 61), received its name from the same monarch, who may have constructed or improved it for the transport of Hiram's cedar and other materials for the building of the temple (2 Chron. ii. 16).

⁴ *Sinai and Palestine*, p. 160.

PART III. xxvi. The remarks already made in the last Section equally apply to the 26th city in the catalogue, *Sansannah* (סַנְסָנָה), also called *Hazar-Susah*,¹ and *Hazar-Susim*,² “the enclosure” or “depôt of horses.” That *Sansannah* was the ancient name, may be inferred from a comparison with the 49th verse of this chapter, where *Debir* is said to have been originally called *Kirjath-Sannah*.³

From the close connection of this city with the preceding one in the only three passages in which it is found, as well as from the very nature of the case,—it being indispensable that the place for relay of horses should be conveniently near the depôt of chariots and wagons,—we may confidently look for *Sansannah* at no great distance from *Madmannah*. We have seen that the latter word lost, in process of time, its first syllable; we may, therefore, reasonably expect that the other, from its great resemblance of form, will have undergone a similar change. It is even possible, if we may judge from the analogy just suggested in the case of *Kirjath-Sannah*, that both

¹ Josh. xix. 5.

² 1 Chron. iv. 31.

³ If there be any etymological affinity between *Sannah* and *Susah* (rather than, as Bochart suggests, between *Sannah* and *Debir*), we may perhaps identify the yet undiscovered *Debir* with the ruined site *Susieh*, near Maon and Carmel (*Bib. Res.* ii. pp. 194, 195, 627). The position certainly fulfils most exactly the topographical requirements of Josh. xv. 48—50; and, moreover, the known affinity between *Zuzim* and *Zamzummim* (Cf. Gen. xiv. 5 with Deut. ii. 20) increases the probability that *Susah* and *Sannah* are similarly related.

the shorter and the longer forms may always have PART III. been used interchangeably.

Now it would appear, from information communicated to Dr. Robinson by his 'Amrân and Haweitât guides, that the Wadys Khulasah (Chesil) and Ru-heibeh (Hormah), after uniting, "receive the Mur-tubeh (and the Seba') further down, and thus form Wady *es-Suny*, which joins (or is joined by) the Sher'ah near the sea, not far south of Gaza."¹ I mention this, both for the purpose of showing that the sacred writer drew up his catalogue in no arbitrary manner, but on true topographical principles; and because I believe that Sansannah is represented by this very Wady es-Suny (or Sunieh), in some part of which, I venture to think, traces of its exact position will be found, when the time shall have come for its thorough exploration.

There is indeed a village or station, called Lebben or Lebhem, with a large deep well, on the same route as Minyây (Madmannah), but still nearer to Gaza, being in fact the first resting-place after leaving that city for Egypt.² Kiepert's map locates it a little N. of the Sher'ah; but Zimmermann's, close to Khân Yûnas. If we were to take as its real situation a spot half-way between these two extremes, we should place it precisely in the Wady es-Suny.

¹ *Bib. Res.* i. pp. 299, 300.

² Dr. Robinson, i. p. 564; Lord Lindsay, ii. p. 347. The orientals never travel far on the first day of a journey.

PART III. I will only add, as a striking corroboration of the appropriateness of the position thus assigned to Sansannah or Hazar-Susim, that it is not until we arrive at the latitude of the Wady es-Suny that we meet with a single horse among the possessions of the natives. A little south of Beersheba, Mr. Drew for the first time observed horses.¹ At the Wady Sher'ah (the northern branch of the Suny) the territory of the Henâdy Arabs commences; of whom Dr. Robinson saw "a large number pasturing their horses" in the "broad tract of fine meadow-lands" constituting Wady el-Hasy. "These were said to be Bedawîn cavalry in the service of Muhammed Aly." And again, from the Tell el-Hasy he had a commanding view of a wide extent of country and a variety of busy scenes; conspicuous among which were "the tents of the Henâdy and their numerous horses."² With this may be compared the testimony of the Scottish Deputation, who, although travelling along the seashore, did not meet with horses (except those of the Governor of el-'Arfish) until a few miles N. of Gaza. We quote one or two sentences of their "Narrative" as not inappropriate to our present subject: "We found the dwellings to be merely cottages of mud, with a door, and sometimes also a window, into a courtyard. In this yard the flocks were lying down. . . . Small mud walls formed frail partitions,

¹ *Scripture Lands*, p. 416.

² *Bib. Res.* ii. 389—391.

to keep separate the larger and smaller cattle; for PART III. oxen, *horses*, and camels were in some of these *enclosures*.¹ Once more, Dr. Stewart's first mention of horses occurs also in the latitude of Wady es-Suny or Sherf'ah, near its eastern extremity: "We were ordered (he says) to proceed along the path, and assured that our *Guardiano* would speedily overtake us, which he did, riding at full speed on a smart little horse, the first I had seen since leaving Cairo. Very shortly after, two Sheikhs of the Hefr Arabs passed us on horseback."²

If, therefore, Hazar-Susim be in the Negeb at all, it can only be at its N.W. extremity,—the very spot to which we have thus been guided by diverse yet concurrent testimonies.

xxvii. There is nothing of which we are more frequently reminded in this investigation than the prophecy of dying Jacob concerning Simeon. Confederate with his brother Levi in crime, he shares with him a common doom: "I will divide them in Jacob, and scatter them in Israel."³ We well know how literally this was fulfilled in the case of the Levites; who, instead of receiving a compact and clearly-defined territory, like the other ten tribes, were located in detached cities in every part of the country on both sides of the Jordan. The same

¹ *Narrative*, p. 112.

² *Tent and Khan*, p. 221.

³ Gen. xxxiv. 25, 26; xl ix. 5—7.

PART III. destiny, though within more circumscribed limits, befall the Simeonites; and, as our researches have progressed, we have seen how completely they were incorporated with their more powerful brethren of the house of Judah; so that we cease to wonder that they should at so early a period in the national annals have lost their individuality as a tribe.

These reflections are suggested by the break which once more occurs in the order of enumeration. The sacred topographer, as if reminded, by the reference to horses in the previous section, of another though very different animal, now returns to the region E. of the Hill Country, and mentions *Lebaoth* (לְבָאוֹת) as the 27th city on the list. This is more fully described in Josh. xix. 6, as *Beth-lebaoth* (the house or dwelling of lionesses), while, in 1 Chron. iv. 31, it appears under another, and probably corrupted form, as *Beth-birei* (בֵּית־בִּירֵי).¹

I have already, in speaking of the Lion as characteristic of the Negeb,² had occasion to express my conviction that Lebaoth was situated N.E. of Arad, where, Dr. Robinson informs us, "on a low hill," stands a ruin called *el-Beyûdh*, consisting now only

¹ It is not unlikely that בֵּרְאֵי was originally בְּרָאֵי, or, perhaps (as the Sept. rendering, Βαρούσεωριμ, would seem to indicate), בְּרָאֵי; it would then signify "the dwelling of lions," and thus, by a very slight alteration, it is made to harmonize with the import of the other name, about which, as it occurs twice, we can feel no doubt.

² Pt. II. Sect. iii. 1.

of "foundations" and "caves."¹ There is an evident PART III. affinity between the two words,² while the situation is all that we could wish for a place whose name indicates that it was a favourite resort of lions; being close to the Wady Ehdeib (or Hafâf), by which access would be given to them from the jungles of the lower Ghôr about Masada (where, as we have seen, their terrible footprints are still discovered); and the "caves" of its Horite founders³ would furnish secure retreats for them, as they watched for opportunities of aggression upon the numerous flocks of that peculiarly pastoral region.

xxviii. In the 28th city, *Shilhim* (שִׁלְחִים), we have a good example of two of the sources whence are derived so many of the variations to which oriental names are subject. This word occurs only twice more, and on each occasion it has undergone a material alteration. But no one, who is at all acquainted with these and other characteristics of proper names in the Semitic languages, will feel any.

¹ *Bib. Res.* ii. p. 472. Irby and Mangles appear also to have visited this place, which they call "*Albaid*"; but, from their description, it would seem either that they have confounded it in their recollection with Kurmul, or (which is very possible) that it has undergone considerable changes during the interval of more than twenty years between the two visits. See the remarks on the removal of stones from el-Khulasah (Sect. xxii).

² In addition to what has already been advanced (II. iii. 1), it may be observed, that the omission of the initial *Lamed* is explained by its habitual tendency to merge in the Arabic article (el): *e.g.*, el-Achsa for Lachsa, el-'Âl for Elealeh.

³ Cf. Sect. vii.

PART III. surprise at such phenomena, or doubt for a moment the identity of the name under its differing forms.

In Josh. xix. 6, Shilhim appears as *Sharuhēn* (שְׁרוּחֵן); a change which is easily explained by the tendency to commutation observable in the Liquids; the L and M have become R and N. The word, however, in its new guise, is no longer intelligible; it has lost its original signification, and not gained a new one in its place. Here, therefore, a second element of change comes into operation, and we need not wonder if, after a considerable interval, this unmeaning word is presented to us in a form at once significant and appropriate.¹ Accordingly, in 1 Chron. iv. 31, Sharuhēn has become *Shaara'im* (שָׁעָרִים), in which it will be noticed both that the final M has recovered its position, and that the substitution of one guttural (ע) for another (ע)² has produced a word which, while obviously intelligible to the multitude, was doubtless suggested by its local adaptedness.

¹ Instances of this tendency have already been given in the course of this work. See Pt. III. Sects. x., xiii., xvii. The latest which has come under my observation occurs in Miss Rogers's charming book, *Domestic Life in Palestine* (Lond. 1862), where she tells how the natives used to call her Nurājus (a kind of lily), because it most nearly resembled her name of all the words with which they were conversant. The same remark applies to the probable connection between Wady Simsīm and Samson, hinted at in a former note; the memory of the Hebrew Judge having perished, the name is without a meaning to the modern Arabs, who have consequently moulded it to the similar and more familiar word by which they designate the plant Sesame.

² That these are readily convertible, see Pt. III. Sect. ix.

I have the rather dwelt on this point, because it PART III. not only furnishes an apt illustration of the successive changes to which proper names are liable, but also sets in a clear light the materials available for enabling us to discover the true situation of this city; for both Shilhim and Shaaraim have their peculiar significations, each of which ought to be realized in the modern site.

(1) The first of these words (Shilhim) comes from the verb *shâlach* (שָׁלַח), the general import of which is "to send." Fortunately, there is another proper name, derived from the same root (*Shiloah* or *Siloam*), which will materially aid us in fixing its particular application. Shiloah is mentioned three times in Scripture, and each passage throws light on its distinctive meaning.

In Neh. iii. 15, it is called a "pool" or "reservoir" (ברכָה = Arab. Birkeh). It was not, therefore, itself the fountain, but only a tank for the reception of the waters of that fountain, situated (as we now know) beneath the very temple itself.

The secret communication between the two is evidently implied in the second passage, Isa. viii. 6: "The waters of Shiloah that go *softly*," or, more correctly, "that go *secretly*," or by a "*covered way*," *i. e.*, by subterraneous conduits.¹

¹ When I wrote the above, I was not aware that the same interpretation had already been proposed by Dr. Buchanan in his *Notes of*

PART III. The ultimate destination of these waters is indicated in the remaining passage, John ix. 7: “The pool (*κολυμβήθρα*) of Siloam, which is, by interpretation, ‘Sent.’” The word, thus explained, seems to allude not only to the previous transmission of the waters from the fountain to the reservoir, but to their subsequent diffusion, for purposes of irrigation, in the “King’s gardens” outside the city walls.

We may compare these three passages, relating to the waters of Shiloah, with their present condition and uses: brought from their secret source under the Temple vaults to the (so called) “Fountain of the Virgin”; then, southwards, by a long subterranean passage, to the “Pool of Siloam”; whence they are carried, by a channel cut in the rock, to an enclosed garden of fig-trees; being subsequently conducted into other gardens beyond, in the irrigation of which they eventually exhaust themselves.¹

We may also advert to Solomon’s description of a similar work in Eccl. ii. 6: “I made me *pools* (ברכות) of water, *to water therewith the wood* that bringeth forth trees.”

a *Clerical Furlough*, pp. 175, 176 (Lond. 1859), where the reader will find some valuable reflections on the typical significance of Shiloah.

¹ Kitto’s *Cycl. of Bib. Lit.*, sub voce. Bartlett describes this as “the only really verdant spot about the city,” and remarks, “It is surprising what a magic there is even in this little patch of greenness in the desert of dust, rock, and sterility amidst which it is embedded” (*Jerusalem Revisited*, p. 133. Lond. 1855).

The following passages, in which the word *shâlach* PART III. occurs, place the matter in a yet clearer light.

Job xii. 15: "Behold, He withholdeth the waters, and they dry up; also, He *sendeth them out*, and they transform¹ the earth (or land)."

Ps. civ. 10: "He *sendeth* the springs into the valleys (*nachalim* = wadys) which run among the hills."

Ezek. xxxi. 4, 5: "The waters made him (the cedar, to which the Assyrian was compared) great, the deep set him up on high, its rivers (*i. e.*, its perennial streams) it brought about his plantation, and its channels (conduits) it *sent forth* to all the trees of the field. Therefore his height was exalted above all the trees of the field, and his boughs were multiplied, and his branches became long because of the multitude of waters, when he *shot forth* (margin, 'when it *sent them forth*')."

We now possess evidence amply sufficient to enable us to form a judgment as to the physical character of the district of which Shilhim was the centre. It must have been favoured with an abundant supply of salubrious water, and that, not confined to isolated spots and natural fountains, but artificially collected

¹ The essential meaning of the verb **תָּפַח** (*haphas*) is, to produce a result exactly *opposite* to the previous state of things. Here it imports the making a region verdant and productive which before had been parched and desolate. Cf., *e. g.*, Lev. xiii. 3, &c., 55; Ps. lxvi. 6; cv. 25, 29; cxiv. 8; Jer. xxxi. 13.

PART III. and diffused in such a manner as to irrigate the surrounding country, and promote the growth of vegetation, including even trees, to a degree very unusual in the parched regions of the Negeb.

(2) As the known import of the cognate Shiloah has furnished us with the key to the meaning of Shilhim, so, in the case of Shaaraim also, we have the advantage of comparing its meaning when applied to a city of the Shephelah.¹ Situated, as it was, on that rich plain which has ever astonished and delighted the observer by its vast expanse of ripening grain,² we cannot doubt that this circumstance led to its being called Shaaraim, which signifies "Barley."

We have here, then, an additional criterion by which to determine the site of the southern Shaaraim. It must be not only *well-watered*, clothed with *verdure*, and shaded by *trees*, but also adapted for the growth of *corn*, especially *barley*.

(3) As Shaaraim was the latest form of the word, we may reasonably infer that, if the name have survived at all, it will be found to resemble this rather than the earlier, Shilhim.

Such being the materials placed at our disposal,

¹ Josh. xv. 36; 1 Sam. xvii. 52. It is perhaps identical with the modern Sa'irah (*Bib. Res.* ii. p. 364).

² For its ancient aspect, see Judg. xv. 1, 5; 1 Sam. vi. 13; xxiii. 1; for its modern, see *Bib. Res.* ii. pp. 341, 342, 346, 349, 362, 367, 368, 371, 372, 377, 385, 386, 387, 389, 390, 391, 394, 401, 402; iii. pp. 16, 25.

there cannot, surely, be much difficulty, in a country PART III. like the Negeb, in identifying a spot which must have been quite an oasis amid the prevailing sterility of that "dry and thirsty land." The required features are too marked to admit of prolonged hesitation, even were we not aided in our decision by the remarkable circumstance, that only one important site remains unappropriated throughout the whole extent of the Negeb. That site is *el-Birein* (the wells),¹ which Dr. Robinson unfortunately did not explore, but which has since been visited by Mr. Drew, who assures us that its ruins are as extensive as those in *Wady er-Ruheibeh*.² The name still lingers in the closely adjoining *Wady es-Serâm*, containing remains of undoubted antiquity which are called by the Arabs "*Khirbet es-Serâm*, "the ruins of *Serâm*."³

Bearing in mind, then, the four chief characteristics which are to serve as our criteria (water, grass, corn, and trees), let us apply them to the statements of travellers respecting the tract of country of which *el-Birein* may be considered the nucleus.

¹ The termination *ein*, in modern Arabic words, would seem to have a plural as well as dual signification; for there are *four*, not two wells at *el-Birein*, and, moreover, *el-Kuryetein* answers to the Hebrew *Kerioth* (Sect. xi. § 1).

² *Scripture Lands*, p. 22.

³ The absence of the *Ain* is here of no importance, as it does not appear in the two other Hebrew forms of this name, *Shilhim* and *Sharuhem*.

PART III. Its natural boundary on the south is the Wady el-'Ain (valley of the *Fountain*), of which Dr. Robinson says, "We reached the deep gully which forms its watercourse at 4 o'clock, and found it bordered with *grass*, daisies, and other small flowers, most refreshing to the eye after so long an abstinence. Indeed we had found to-day *more vegetation* in the desert than before in all the way from Egypt. After crossing the watercourse, we came upon a broad tract of tolerably fertile soil, capable of tillage, and apparently once tilled. Across the whole tract the remains of long ranges of low stone walls were visible, which probably once served as the divisions of cultivated fields. The Arabs called them el-Muzeiri'ât, 'little *plantations*.' We afterwards saw many such walls, which obviously were not constructed by the present race of Arab inhabitants, but must be referred back to an earlier period. We neither saw nor heard of any site of ruins in this valley; it may have been tilled by the inhabitants of some place not far remote.¹ We encamped at 4^h 25' upon the plain. On its northern side rose a swelling ridge of considerable elevation, with several sharp chalky peaks; the most prominent of which was called Râs el-Serâm. Our course (next day) lay first across the plain N.E. by N., and our main route continued in this direction

¹ Dr. Robinson was not then aware of the extensive ruins at el-Bîrein; he knew only of the wells. We shall see, too, that there are ruins in the Wady es-Serâm itself.

all day. On both sides of the way patches of *wheat* PART III. and *barley* were seen, *their deep green contrasting strongly with the nakedness around.* We saw many such patches in the course of the day; but they were mostly stunted and poor, in consequence of the little rain.¹ The plain now became a gradual acclivity; and following up a broad wady, or tract covered with herbs, we came out at 6^h 40' on a smaller high circular plain, about a mile in diameter, and covered with shrubs..... We crossed the plain; and, at a quarter past seven o'clock, entered and descended Wady es-Serâm. The desert began to assume a gentler aspect. The Serâm spread out further down into a wide plain, *with shrubs, and grass, and patches of wheat and barley, looking almost like a meadow....* The country around became gradually still more open, with broad arable valleys separated by low swelling hills. *Grass increased in the valleys, and herbs were sprinkled over the hills.....* On reaching the plain, we sent two Arabs with a camel over the hills on the right to the wells of Birein for water..... Descending along a little wady, we struck the *water-course of the Serâm....* Here we came upon the remains of walls, similar to those we had seen

¹ We cannot, of course, form an accurate judgment of the former state of this or any other district,—when it was occupied by a settled population, and irrigation was systematically practised,—from its present neglected condition, under the feeble government of Turkey, and in the partial occupation of ignorant nomads.

PART III. near Wady el-'Ain, apparently once enclosing fields or gardens, along the track overflowed by the torrent during the rainy season. At first these walls were slight, but became thicker and more solid as we advanced. Most of them are two or three feet thick, and double; the faces being laid up very neatly with round stones from the torrent, and the middle filled in with gravel. Some, built across the watercourse, are six or eight feet thick, forming a solid dam, *and were doubtless intended to regulate the flowing and distribution of the water.* In some of the walls, the sides are perpendicular, in others sloping, and occasionally the round stones are broken to a face. At 9^h 10' the *water-bed of Wady el-Birein* came in across the plain, and gave its name to the whole. Five minutes further on was a Ghudir or pool of rain-water in its bed, and another just below..... At 12^h 50' there were again walls of fields, marking an extensive enclosure..... Here we overtook our two men with a load of *good water from el-Birein.* They reported that the wells were four instead of two; all twenty-five or thirty feet deep, walled up with hewn stone, and containing living water. The plain beyond the wells, they said, was *extensively cultivated by the Arabs.*"¹

As Dr. Robinson deviated from the direct route in order to visit el-'Aujeh (Ije-Azem), and was after-

¹ *Bib. Res.* i. pp. 281—289.

wards exposed to a violent Sirocco, some points must PART III. have escaped his observation. It will be necessary, therefore, to supplement his account by quoting a few sentences from Dr. Bonar: "This (Wady el-'Ain) is a most spacious plain, *full of vegetation*, which extends for miles. *It is by far the greenest and moistest spot that we have seen* It was quite a relief to find ourselves upon *moist* soil, after weeks of hard dry sand and stones. The very air seemed fresher and more genial. Our feet felt nimbler and our limbs more elastic as we moved along. We reached Wady es-Serâm about half-past four, and a little after this, we halted and encamped. We found several cultivated fields of considerable size, with *corn* beginning to show itself in some of them. Right across the valley ran long lines of stones, at short intervals. They were not the foundations of houses, but were evidently thrown across to retain the soil in its place, and *prevent the rush of the occasional torrent from sweeping it away*. These lines might be two or three hundred yards long, some even longer, and were made of well-squared stones, fitting into each other, and forming a strong bulwark against the stream. On one of them we found an inscription done much in the same style as the Mukatteb writings. Near the northern extremity of the wady, we saw several inscriptions in a character very like those at Wady Mukatteb.

PART III. On both sides of the wady we saw *ruins to a large extent, indicating the sites of some considerable villages or towns*, and on these ruins there were inscriptions like those already noticed. The buildings in some cases had been large in size, more like villas than common houses. *They are called Khurbet es-Serām..... Having crossed a small height, we came into Wady el-Hufīr, where we found extensive ruins and terrace walls as in the preceding valley, with like traces of cultivation and like spots of verdure. These stretch for miles along the wady, as if there had been an unbroken continuity of dwellings or villages in this region.”*¹

From Zimmermann's Map (Pt. ix.) we glean one or two items which further illustrate our subject. The high ground which shuts in Wady es-Serām on the N. and N.E., is called Jebel el-Gamar (or rather Ghamr) “the mountain of *many waters*,” at once suggesting those processes of irrigation to whose traces, as we have seen, the traveller even yet testifies, and which are embodied in the very name Shilhim. A little beyond Wady el-Hufīr, too, occurs the equally suggestive name Wady and Jebel Sharīq, “the valley and mountain of *vine-branches*;” indicating another of the important uses to which the ancient inhabitants applied their exuberant water-power.

¹ *Desert of Sinai*, pp. 294—303. Cf. Stewart (pp. 197, 198), who also speaks of “five very aged *Nubk* trees” near Wady Birein (p. 199).

A few brief extracts from the journal of the only PART III. traveller (I believe) who has examined el-Birein itself, will fitly conclude our notice of this place: "Soon after starting this morning (writes Mr. Drew) we came upon—strange sight!—patches of ground under cultivation, and growing *barley and oats*. Further on, we found extensive traces of field enclosures. At 11.30 we reached Birein, and rested under the shade of *the first group of trees we have seen since leaving the garden at Sinai*. The whole country around Eboda ('Aujeh) was evidently under cultivation. Wide *grassy swards* and ploughed fields, just before we reached this Wady Abyad, where we are now encamped, show that this region was included in the 'South Country.'"¹

xxix. The 29th and last city on the list is *En-Rimmon* (עֵין-רִמּוֹן). This is another instance of the improper insertion of a *vau* between the two parts of a compound word, of which we have had examples in the 3rd, 7th, and 20th cities. The evidence in this case is so overwhelming, that it is impossible for an unbiased mind to resist it; and I am satisfied that it would long ago have been regarded as a settled question, but for the difficulties connected with the sum-total of these cities.

(1) The *vau* is wanting in Josh. xix. 7, 1 Chron. iv. 32, and Neh. xi. 29, the only other passages in

¹ *Scripture Lands*, p. 4.

PART III. which the word occurs; with a single exception, to be noticed presently.

(2) Even here, it is absent in one, if not two Hebrew MSS.¹ as well as in the Sept., whose reading (*Ἐρωμάθ*), although evidently imperfect, is yet sufficiently correct to indicate one compound word.

(3) The frequent use of 'Ain as a prefix to some appellative, the two thus forming a single proper name,—as, *e. g.*, En-gedi, En-dor, En-mishpat, En-eglaim, En-rogel, En-gannim, and the like,—makes it extremely improbable that such usage would be departed from in this case. Indeed, I would venture to affirm that the rule is invariable: the only apparent exceptions being Num. xxxiv. 11 and Josh. xv. 34, where the article is prefixed; Josh. xxi. 16, where the true reading appears to be Ashan (cf. 1 Chron. vi. 59); and Josh. xv. 50, where the word, being in the plural, comes under a different category.

(4) Finally, if Ain and Rimmon are two separate places, the total number of cities of the Negeb would be 30 instead of 29; thus falsifying the entire system on which has been based this endeavour to demonstrate the correctness of the Hebrew numerals in the 32nd verse: a result in which, it is hoped, the reader who

¹ 226 K has עֵין־רִמּוֹן; and 283 K, עֵין־רִמּוֹן, which suggests a possible solution of the false reading. An accidental blot before the *resh* may have been mistaken for a *yod*, which, giving an obscure sense, has been lengthened into a *vau*.

has carefully followed the progress of this argument, PART III. will scarcely be prepared to acquiesce.

Assuming, therefore, with confidence that a single city is represented by these two appellatives, our next inquiry must be directed to the situation of En-Rimmon. In this we are guided by the following indications:

(1) Its position at the end of this catalogue suggests the probability that it is at the N.W. extremity of the Negeb; the first city, as we have seen, being on its S.E. frontier.¹

(2) Its enumeration, in Josh. xix. 7, 1 Chron. iv. 32, and Neh. xi. 29, with cities belonging to that part of the Shephelah which adjoins the Hill Country,² directs us to some spot beyond Beersheba, at or near the N.E. angle of this portion of the Negeb, formed by the junction of the Hill Country with the Wadys Sher'ah and Khuweilifeh.

(3) The only other mention of this place is in Zech. xiv. 10, where the Authorized Version is not a little faulty. I would render the passage thus: "All the land shall be turned into a plain from Geba to Rimmon of the South (Negeb, *κατὰ νότον* Sept.): and Jerusalem shall be lifted up, and inhabited in her place." The natural inference from this is, that the country is mountainous as far as Rimmon; an additional proof that, while En-Rimmon was strictly

¹ See I. x., III. i.

² Josh. xv. 33, 35, 42—44.

PART III. within the Negeb, it must have been situated close to some part of the Hill Country.

(4) The same conclusion is reached by a consideration of the meaning of the word En-Rimmon, "The Fountain of the Pomegranate"; for it is well known that the valleys and slopes of the Judæan hills were especially favourable to the perfection of the choicest fruits. Hence such names as En-gannim (Fountain of Gardens or Orchards), Tappuah (Apple), Anab (Grape), Beth-tappuah (Apple-orchard), Gath-rimmon (Pomegranate-press), &c.¹ Nor shall we forget that it was from the Hill Country that the spies brought back specimens of the productions of the land: "And they came unto the brook of Eshcol, and cut down from thence a branch with one cluster of grapes, and they bare it between two upon a staff; Num. xiii. 23. *and they brought of the pomegranates, and of the figs.*"

After such clear indications as these, we read without surprise the following brief but significant remark of Dr. Robinson: "The ruins of el-Burj are situated *very near the border of the hilly region towards the western plain*; which latter we could here overlook to a great distance. From el-Burj we got but few bearings, viz., el-Khuweilifeh, about S. 25° W. *Um er-Rumâmin*, about S. 25° W."²

What Dr. Robinson thus saw from a distance, it is hoped that some future traveller will make a point

¹ Josh. xv. 34, 50, 53; xix. 45.

² Bib. Res. iii. p. 8.

of examining more closely. Enough, however, is PART III. already known to enable us to point with confidence to Um er-Rumāmīn ("the mother of Pomegranates," implying, according to the Arabic idiom, the abundance and perfection of that fruit,) as the veritable site of the En-Rimmon of old.

Nor would I part with this last city of the Negeb without reiterating my deep sense of the wonderful accuracy of these topographical details taken from the sacred volume; together with my heartfelt conviction that no merely human production could endure with impunity the searching investigation to which the inspired Word of God is now being subjected at the hands both of friends and foes. But I have not a fear for the result of such an ordeal; being assured that, as it is marvellously unique in its origin, so it will be transcendently illustrious in its eventual triumph over every adversary.

"The voice said, Cry. And he said, What shall Isa. xl. 6,
I cry? All flesh is grass, and all the goodness is 8.
as the flower of the field. The grass withereth, the
flower fadeth: but the word of our God shall stand
for ever."

"Heaven and earth shall pass away: but My Mark xiii.
words shall not pass away." 31.

PART III. Subjoined is a tabular view of the several cities, showing, at a glance, the ancient names, with their modern counterparts, as here argued in detail:

CITIES OF THE NEGEB, as enumerated in Josh. xv. 21-32.		
No.	Ancient Name.	Proposed Modern Representative.
1	Kabzeel	{ 'Ain el 'Arûs, at the <i>confluence</i> of the Wady el- <i>Kuseib</i> and other streams, in the <i>Sabkha</i> . Tell 'Arâd.
2	Arad	
3	Hazar-Kinah (Kenite Settlement, near Arad)	el-Hudhairah, near Tell 'Arâd.
4	Dimonah or Dibon	Eh-deib or ed-Deib.
5	Ararah or Aroer	'Arâr'ah.
6	Kadesh	'Ain Kadeis.
7	Hazar-Ithnan (<i>Horite</i> Settlement)	el-Hhora.
8	Telem (or Telaim)	el-Kuseir, of the <i>Dhullâm</i> Arabs.
9	Bealoth or Baalath	Kurnub, near Kubbet el- <i>Baul</i> .
10	Hazor Hadattah	Kust el-Adadah.
11	Kerioth-Hezron, which is Hazar-Amam	el-Kuryetein.
12	Shema or Shalma	Rujeim Selâmeh.
13	Moladah	el-Milh.
14	Hazar-Gaddah	Wady Mubughîk, between Jebel and Wady Hudhrûr and Wady Nedjd.
15	Heshmon	'Ain Hasb.
16	Beth-Pelet	Jerrah, near Milh—Peleth being a cousin of Molid, and a descendant of Jerahmeel.
17	Hazar-Shual	Beni-Shail.
18	Beersheba	Bîr es-Seba.
19	Bizjothjah-Baalah	Deir el-Belâh.
20	Ije-Azem	el-'Aujej, of the 'Azâzimeh Arabs.
21	El-tolad	Wady el-Thoula (or Lussân), near Jebel Yaled.
22	Chesil or Bethel	el-Khulasah, near Wady el-Khusâly.
23	Hormah (or Zephath)	es-Subâta.
24	Ziklag	'Aslûj or Kaslûj.
25	Madmannah	Minyây.
26	Sansannah	Wady es-Suny (or Sunieh).
27	Lebaoth	el-Beyûdh.
28	Shilhim (or Shaaraim)	el-Bîrein and Khurbet es-Serâm.
29	En-Rimmon	Um er-Rumâmîn.

APPENDIX.

*GERAR, AND ITS PHILISTINE
INHABITANTS.*



GERAR, AND ITS PHILISTINE INHABITANTS.¹

We have always wondered how Dr. Robinson could so lightly APPENDIX. reject the claims of Wady el-Jerûr to represent at least a portion of the ancient kingdom of Gerar. He acknowledges the identity of name: “*Jerûr* in Arabic (he says) corresponds to the Hebrew *Gerar*; but neither the position nor the character of this wady admits the supposition of its being the same with the Gerar of Scripture. This lay much nearer to Gaza, in the country of the Philistines, and was very fertile.”² In his subsequent visit to Gaza, he tells us, “We made minute and particular inquiries after several places, which appear to have lain towards the south and south-east of Gaza, such as Lachish, Ziklag, Gerar, and others; but could hear or find no vestige of them. We afterwards repeated the same inquiries among the Arabs of the plain, but with no better success. Of Gerar, or a name answering to it, some of the Christians of Gaza thought they had heard in the

¹ As the following Article—contributed by me to the *Journal of Sacred Literature* for July 1860—is several times referred to in the course of this work, and, while illustrative of the general subject, is specially applicable to one portion of the Negeb, I have thought it not inappropriate to introduce it here, with corrections and additions, in the form of an Appendix. Not until long after its publication,—in fact, when the present volume was all but completed, was I gratified by the discovery that the identity between the modern Jerûr and the Scriptural Gerar (suggested by Dr. Robinson only to be summarily dismissed) had been advocated by Dr. Stewart in his book entitled *The Tent and the Khan*.

² *Bib. Res.* i. p. 279.

APPENDIX. south; but the people of the country knew nothing of it. According to the ancient accounts, Gerar lay in or near a valley, which would seem to be no other than the great Wady Sher'ah, or one of its branches. This wady, as we have seen, was said to receive Wady es-Seba', which comes down from Beersheba; and we know that Gerar was near the land of the Philistines, and Isaac went up from it directly to Beersheba, which was not far distant."¹

With all deference to this learned writer, to whom the cause of Biblical research is so much indebted, we venture to dispute the accuracy of each of the points thus slightly indicated by him.

I. The *position* is surely all that could be wished, even assuming Dr. Robinson's own theory of the site of Kadesh to be correct; for it is situated in a line between 'Ain el-Weibeh and Jebel es-Sur, near Suez,² just as Gerar was in the Negeb or South

Gen. xx. 1. Country, between Kadesh and Shur.

Gen. xxvi.

1, 2.

II. Wady el-Jerûr is crossed by the regular caravan-road from Hebron, *vid* Beersheba and Moilâhhi or Muweilih³ to Egypt, as a glance at Kiepert's or Zimmermann's Maps will prove. Precisely so must it have been with Gerar; for Isaac, when he came thither, was on his way to Egypt, either from Hebron, Beersheba, or Lahai-roi, all of which were then, as now, on the great central road from Canaan to Egypt.⁴

III. Dr. Robinson argues that Wady el-Jerûr cannot be the ancient Gerar, because it does not equal it in fertility. This difficulty is purely imaginary, and arises from his confounding the *valley* (nachal) of Gerar (which we identify with the Wady el-Jerûr) with the *country* of the same name,⁵ of which it formed only a part, possibly the most remote part. Nothing is said in connection with the *valley* of Gerar which would lead us to

¹ *Bib. Res.* ii. p. 383.

² Williams's *Holy City*, p. 489; quoted with approval by Prof. Tuch in *Jour. Sac. Lit.*, July 1848, p. 89.

³ Hagar's well (Williams's *Holy City*, p. 489; Ritter's *Erdk.*, xiv., 1086; Tuch, in *Jour. Sac. Lit.*, July 1848, p. 94.

⁴ Cf. Gen. xlvi. 1—6.

⁵ Cf. Gen. xxvi. 17 with ver. 12.

expect extraordinary fertility. It was in some other locality, APPENDIX. nearer to the *city* of Gerar, that Isaac sowed, and received a hundred-fold.¹ Of Wady Khuberah, an extensive valley south-east of Gaza, Dr. Robinson was told by his Arab guide Tuweileb, a trusty and well-informed man, that it "is very fertile, and yields good crops of grain."² The position of this valley (not far from the capital, as we shall see presently), together with its productiveness, seems to fulfil every requirement of this part of the narrative, while they confirm our view of Isaac's subsequent movements. Not until considerably after the ingathering of this abundant harvest (for which, we must remember, he was indebted to the special blessing of God, ver. 12), did he take up his abode in the *valley* of Gerar, which, from the circumstances detailed in the sacred history, must have been at some distance from the capital. "And Abimelech said unto Isaac, Go from us; for thou art much mightier than we. And Isaac departed thence, and pitched his tent in the valley of Gerar; and dwelt there" (ver. 16, 17).

That the Wady el-Jerûr is not without its attractions as a place of residence, and that its immediate neighbourhood, partly arable, partly pastoral, was well adapted for an ancient settlement, is evident even from the testimony of Dr. Robinson himself. Thus of Wady el-Muzeiri'ah, adjoining Wady el-Jerûr on the south; he says, "This whole basin was full of shrubs and vegetation, and seemed capable of tillage. Indeed, in several spots we saw traces of rude ploughing; and were told that in years of rain the Arabs are accustomed to plough and sow here. A thin, meagre grass was springing up in various places (April 10). Such spots as these we had not seen nor heard of, since passing Wady Ghurundel on the Gulf of Suez. In all the region of the Tawarah, the 'Amrân, and the Haiwât, there are none. We now ascended along a narrow wady to the top of another sloping parallel ridge. Vegetation continued quite

¹ Cf. ver. 6, 12 with 16—20.

² *Bib. Res.* i. p. 298.

APPENDIX. to the summit, consisting of shrubs and thin tufts of slender grass. This point commands a wide view over a broad open tract of country. Through the plain before us passed down Wady Jerûr. Around us vegetation seemed more abundant, and camels were at pasture on our left.¹ Two hours north of Wady el-Jerûr, he "came upon three broad and shallow water-courses, full of the shrub Retem,"—the "juniper" of our English Version, but really the Spanish broom, on whose berries the flocks delight to feed.² Then follows the Wady Jâifeh, "very broad and full of pasture; where are many spots tilled and sown by the Tiyâhah. In it many camels were browsing."³ Other notices to the same effect follow; but we will only mention one more, which seems greatly to strengthen the evidence already adduced, that the country from Wady Jerûr northwards was included in the land of Gerar: "After crossing the watercourse (in Wady Muweilih, communicating probably with Hagar's fountain), we came upon a broad tract of tolerably fertile soil, capable of tillage, and apparently once tilled. Across the whole tract the remains of long ranges of low stone-walls were visible, which probably once served as the divisions of cultivated fields. The Arabs call them el-Muzeiri'ât, 'little plantations.'⁴ We afterwards saw many such walls, which obviously were not constructed by the present race of Arab inhabitants, but must be referred back to an earlier period. We neither saw nor heard of any site of ruins in this valley; it may have been tilled by the inhabitants of some place not far remote."⁵

¹ *Bib. Res.* i. pp. 277, 278.

² Burckhardt, p. 537.

³ *Bib. Res.* i. p. 279.

⁴ See the reference to a wady of this name cited above, and compare the Hebrew מִזְרָע (Isa. xix. 7). Burckhardt, when travelling between Aleppo and Hamah, found the same usage still existing. "Wherever (he says) in these parts the soil admits of culture, wheat and barley are sown among the rocks. If such spots are distant from a village, the cultivators pitch a few tents for the purpose of watching the seed and crop; such encampments are called *Mezraa* (مزراع) " (*Travels in Syria*, p. 129). This explains the absence of ruins remarked by Dr. Robinson.

⁵ *Bib. Res.* i. p. 281.

Of the valley of Gerar nothing is actually recorded in Scripture but the discovery of one or more wells of "springing water." Now it so happens that from Wady el-Lussân (about two hours south of Wady el-Jerûr) a path diverges from the main route, "leading (as Dr. Robinson was informed) to some rain-water in the rocks at the head of Wady Jerûr, and falling into the road again further on."¹ One would like to be quite certain as to this collection of water (which no traveller appears to have visited) not being a *bona fide* spring. It seems scarcely probable that a beaten path would lead to anything short of a "well of living water," such as Esek was. However this may be, nothing could more easily happen than that the well or wells which Abraham originally dug, and which had been filled up by the Philistines, may have again shared the same fate. "Water (says Burckhardt) is readily found by digging, in every fertile valley in Arabia, and wells are thus easily formed, which are quickly filled up again by the sands."² To this constantly operating cause is to be added the apprehension of the Philistines, lest (as Dr. Kitto suggests), "by the formation of such wells, they should be understood to create a lien in the lands in which they lay, and thus acquire an indefeasible right of occupation, or rather of possession."³ While, therefore, we should not be concerned or surprised if no spring should now be found in Wady el-Jerûr, we still think that a thorough exploration of the valley might lead to interesting results; and we commend this subject, as well as Isaac's subsequent route northwards, to the attention of some future traveller.

¹ *Bib. Res.* i. p. 277.

² *Travels in Syria*, p. 474.

³ *Pict. Hist. of Pal.*, p. 61. Does not the existence of two wells at Beersheba, of equal antiquity, and "some distance apart" (*Bib. Res.* i. pp. 300, 301), illustrate this point, while at the same time it explains the double inauguration related in Gen. xxi. and xxvi., which some have referred to the same transaction, interpreting the earlier account on the principle of anticipation? The whole tenor of chap. xxvi. seems to show that Isaac found it necessary to reassert his hereditary rights by digging a new well. These wells must always have been a most valuable and coveted possession; and to this day the right of watering there is vested equally in the two Arab tribes, Dhullám and Tiyáhah (*Bib. Res.* ii. p. 473).

APPENDIX. It is not quite clear whether we should look for the well *Sitnah* (שִׁתְנָה) also in Wady el-Jerûr; or whether we have not a trace of it in the Wady esh-*Shutein*,¹ which falls into the Beersheba road at Wady er-*Ruheibeh*. In this latter name Dr. Robinson himself cannot help being struck with the resemblance to *Rehoboth*, Isaac's third well. But the presence of extensive ruins in the immediate neighbourhood,² for which his Kadesh and Zephath hypotheses made him unprepared, completely puzzled him. Moreover, having rejected the idea of Wady el-Jerûr being the valley of Gerar, he was bound in consistency to refuse the claims of Wady er-*Ruheibeh* also, as being too far south to harmonize with his preconceived theory of the position of Gerar. His own description, however, of this valley contributes so essentially to the proof of its identity with Isaac's encampment, that we cannot do better than quote a portion of it: "On the acclivity of the eastern hill we found traces of wells; a deep cistern, or rather cavern, which seemed to have been used as such; and a fine circular threshing-floor, evidently antique.... Starting at half-past five o'clock, we proceeded on a general course north-east down Wady er-*Ruheibeh*, which becomes *broad*³ and arable, with rounded hills on either side.... As we advanced, the valley became quite green with grass; and in a season of ordinary rain would be verdant and full of luxuriant herbage. The birds were now more frequent, warbling forth their carols, and filling the air with melody. We noticed the quail with his whistle, and the lark with her song; besides

¹ شطين. It will be observed that the radical letters in both words are identically the same.

² Since identified as those of Zephath, afterwards Hormah, still called Sebâta (Williams's *Holy City*, p. 487, &c.; Prof. Tuch, in *Jour. Sac. Lit.*, ii. pp. 93, 94).

³ "Now hath the Lord made *room* for us," is the exclamation of Isaac on finding himself at length unmolested by the Philistines; hence the name Rehoboth, from רְחֵב "broad." Drew observes of the Wady er-*Ruheibeh*, "We found it to be *wider* and longer than it is marked on the maps" (*Scripture Lands*, p. 415).

many smaller warblers. In the course of the day, we heard APPENDIX. also the notes of the nightingale. At half-past six a ruined village was on the left-hand hill. Five minutes later we left Wady er-Ruheibeh running north-west,..... and passed up a small side valley."¹ It is much to be regretted that just at this point, where a discovery so interesting as that of the veritable well of Isaac was within his grasp, Dr. Robinson should have allowed himself to proceed without thoroughly examining the whole of this valley, and thus have deprived both himself of a rare gratification, and us of the benefit of his minute and exact observation. But, for reasons already mentioned, he felt no special interest in this spot, and, moreover, he was eager to explore the ruins of el-Khulashah, which were only a few miles distant. Happily his account is supplemented, as to the most important particulars, by that of Mr. Rowlands, who found, not far from es-Sebâta, "an ancient well of living and good water," bearing the significant name "Bir Rohébeh."² If to the former traveller's graphic description of the valley, with its ample expanse and cheerful verdure, and to the latter's discovery of the well, still retaining its familiar title, we add the further coincidences, that the context shows Rehoboth to have been between the valley of Gerar and Beersheba, just as Bir er-Ruheibeh is between Wady el-Jerûr and Bir es-Seba,' and that as Isaac "*went up* from thence to Beersheba," so Dr. Gen. xxvi. Robinson tells us "*the ascent* was long and gradual,"³—we ^{23.} think we have said quite enough to convince any unbiased judgment that the identification is complete.

IV. Dr. Robinson maintains that Gerar "lay much nearer to Gaza" than the position of Wady el-Jerûr would imply.

Now we are quite willing to admit that Wady el-Jerûr must have been at or near the southern extremity of the country of Gerar, and that its capital, bearing the same name, to which

¹ *Bib. Res.* i. pp. 295, 296.

² Williams's *Holy City*, p. 487, &c.

³ *Bib. Res.* i. p. 300.

APPENDIX. Isaac went in the first instance,¹ was probably situated at the spot, "three hours S.S.E. of Gaza," where Mr. Rowlands discovered "traces of an ancient city called 'Khirbet el-Gerar' (the ruins of Gerar)."² The territory of Gerar, as we shall soon perceive, could not have extended much further north than this. Nor could it have included Beersheba; for it is expressly said that Abimelech and Phichol, after their covenant with Abraham Gen. xxi. 32. at that place, "*returned* into the land of the Philistines." In like manner, the country of the Tiyâhah (their modern successors) extends only "to the *vicinity* of Gaza and Beersheba."³ Its boundary, therefore, must have taken a south-easterly course from Khirbet el-Jerar, and probably followed the direction of the modern route from Gaza, which joins the great caravan-road between central Canaan and Egypt at the entrance of Wady er-Ruheibeh.⁴ There seems to be some confirmation of this in the fact that, between Wady el-Abyad on the south, and the head of Wady er-Ruheibeh on the north, is a range of "swelling hills,"⁵ whose name Dr. Robinson does not appear to have ascertained, but which are called in Zimmermann's map "Jebel el-*Garra*."⁶ The latter word may be a corruption of Gerar; and if so, these heights would form a natural boundary in this direction. This may also serve to explain Isaac's immunity from molestation when once he had reached Rehoboth; as though he were now beyond the jurisdiction of the king of Gerar. The southern boundary, whether we place it at Wady el-Jerûr, or a little to the south of Wady el-Muzeiri'ah, where, we are told, "the region or desert of the Tih ends,"⁷ would naturally follow the course of the Wady el-'Arish, into which both those wadys fall, and which was afterwards the southern limit of Judah. But we are not to suppose that any portion of the sea-coast belonged to Gerar; for we are expressly told that "the towns

¹ Gen. xxvi. 1, 6—8.

² Williams's *Holy City*, p. 488. Mr. Rowlands must be slightly in error here, *Jerar* being the Arabic equivalent for the Hebrew *Gerar*.

³ *Bib. Res.* i. p. 274.

⁴ *Ib.* i. pp. 289, 291.

⁵ *Ib.* i. p. 288.

⁶ Cf. Kurtz, iii. p. 224.

⁷ *Bib. Res.* i. p. 274.

and villages" extending to the *nachal* of Egypt (Wady el-APPENDIX 'Arish) pertained to Gaza, and that the whole coast, "from Sihor, which is before Egypt, even unto the borders of Ekron northward, is counted unto the Canaanite."¹ This is strikingly illustrated by Dr. Robinson's account of the respective pasture-grounds of the Tiyâhah and Terâbîn,² and helps us to determine the western boundary of Gerar, which must have been drawn at some distance from the sea, corresponding to the line of demarcation between these two Arab tribes; while its eastern limit would be clearly defined by the rocky and mountainous district now occupied by the 'Azâzimeh.³

V. We are now in a position to deal with the question obviously arising from Dr. Robinson's principal objection. He argues that Gerar cannot have been so far south as Wady el-Jerûr, because it "lay much nearer to Gaza, *in the country of the Philistines.*" Now if the learned Doctor affirms, as we understand him to do, that the Philistines of the time of Abraham and Isaac inhabited the same country as those who figure so conspicuously in the days of Samson and David, we venture, with all respect, to join issue with him, and to maintain that there are no grounds whatever for believing that the country along the Mediterranean in the Shephelah or Lowland, which we know to have been inhabited by the Philistines from the age of Joshua downwards, was occupied by them in the times of the patriarchs. On the contrary, we are distinctly informed that not only on Abraham's first arrival at Sichem, and after his return from Egypt, "the Canaanite and the Perizzite dwelled then in the land,"⁴ but that this continued to be the case even two hundred years later, in the days of Jacob.⁵ Now with regard to the territory originally assigned to the Canaanites (not as the representatives of the entire nation, west of the Jordan, conquered by Joshua, but as an individual tribe), we

¹ Josh. xiii. 3. Cf. Zeph. ii. 5.

² Bib. Res. i. p. 274. Cf. Bureckhardt, p. 560.

³ Ib. i. pp. 274, 276, 278. ⁴ Gen. xii. 6, xiii. 7. ⁵ Gen. xxxiv. 30.

APPENDIX. are fortunately at no loss. For, besides the intimations already adduced, it is expressly declared in Gen. x. 19 (on which we presume Dr. Robinson partly relies) that “the border of the Canaanite was from Sidon, as thou comest to Gerar, unto Gaza;” *i. e.*, its western boundary extended southwards as far as Gaza, *in the direction* of Gerar, which obviously lay still further south. Compare with this passage Gen. xiii. 10, where, it is evident, Zoar is mentioned, not as the extreme limit of vision,—for it is physically impossible that Zoar could have been seen from the spot (east of Bethel) where Lot stood,—but as the point *in the direction* of which he looked.¹ When, on the other hand, it is intended to express the *actual attainment* of the place specified, the conjunction וְ or וְיַהְיֶה precedes the verb בָּאַמְתָּה or בָּאַמְתָּה, as in Gen. xix. 22, where (as curiously as conveniently) the reference is again to Lot and Zoar: this time, however, Lot does more than look towards Zoar,—he actually sets foot in it.² We learn, therefore, from Gen. x. 19, not only that Gaza was the southernmost city of the Canaanitish possessions, but also, incidentally, that the country of Gerar extended to an indefinite distance beyond.

The Perizzites, who are always mentioned in connection with the Canaanites (the two terms probably indicating the *rural* and *urban* populations respectively), may, for this reason, also be looked for in the region afterwards known as Philistia. Accordingly we find traces of them in 1 Sam. vi. 18, where the words translated “country villages” are literally “villages of the Perizzites.” It appears to us, therefore, very clear that “the *land* (יְרֵאָה) of the Philistines,” spoken of in Genesis, is not that low-lying plain, bordering on the Mediterranean, of vast extent, and rich productiveness, so familiar to us as their

¹ See the same idiom, Gen. x. 30, xxv. 18.

² Instances of this essentially different idiom occur in Deut. i. 31, ix. 7, xi. 5; Judg. vi. 4, xi. 33; Ruth i. 19; 1 Sam. xvii. 52; 2 Sam. v. 25; 1 Kings xviii. 46. In 1 Sam. xv. 7, xxvii. 8—the only other passages where this idiom is found—the text appears to be either corrupt or defective; so that no argument can be based upon them in their present state.

subsequent abode, and which, partly from its physical character- APPENDIX. istics, and partly, perhaps, to distinguish it from the undulating region formerly occupied by them, is sometimes called the “*field*” or “*fruitful plain* (*פְּרָץ*) of the Philistines.”¹ That was still held by its original occupants, the Canaanites and Perizzites, whose frontier city was Gaza, the most southerly of those which afterwards constituted the Philistine Pentapolis. And not only was their *country* different, but they themselves bore little resemblance to the Philistines of Joshua and David. Their habits were pastoral, as beffited a people dwelling, not as yet by the sea-shore, but altogether in the interior; while their petty jealousy of Abraham and Isaac implies a very different state of things from that which, at a later period, presents them to us as a powerful and warlike nation. By putting together the incidental notices respecting them scattered through the sacred pages, we are enabled to form a very definite notion of the successive stages of their national history. Descended from Mizraim, the son of Ham, they appear to have been expelled from Captor in Lower Egypt, in one of the political convulsions of those early times;² or, what is more probable, they were an amalgamation of several kindred tribes, the refugees of successive Egyptian revolutions. This may account for the different names by which they were designated,—Philistim, Captorim, Cherethim, &c. The charge preferred against the sons of Jacob of being spies who had come to see “the nakedness of the land”; the depopulated state of Goshen, although one of the richest provinces of Egypt; and the subsequent accession of “a new king, who knew not Joseph”; all tend to illustrate the rise, progress, and eventual consolidation of the Philistine polity. The circumstances under which this race effected a settlement in the country where Abraham first met with them, are related in Deut. ii. 23: “The Avims which dwelt in Hazerim, even unto Azza (Gaza), the Captorims, which came forth out of Captor,

¹ 1 Sam. vi. 1, xxvii. 5, 7, 11.

² Jer. xlvi. 4; Amos ix. 7.

Gen. x. 6,
13, 14.

Gen. xlii. 9.

Ex. i. 8.

APPENDIX. destroyed them, and dwelt in their stead." That the district here called Hazerim was situated in the "south country," and was in fact identical with Gerar, is apparent, we think, not only from the meaning of the word חצרים, which is descriptive of the pastoral enclosures of a nomade race,—thus agreeing exactly with the characteristics of this district already illustrated,—but also from the enumeration of places in the extreme south of Judah (afterwards allotted to Simeon) contained in Joshua;¹ in which the number of Hazors mentioned is so remarkable, that we cannot be surprised to find one of its names derived from the circumstance.

Nor is this the only intimation we seem to have of the occupation of Gerar by the Philistines, prior to their settlement on the sea-coast. In 1 Chron. iv. 39, &c., we have an account of an exploratory expedition of the Simeonites in the reign of Hezekiah: "And they went to the entrance of *Gedor*, even unto the east side of the valley, to seek pasture for their flocks. And they found *fat pasture and good*, and the land was *wide* (רחבת, cf. Gen. xxvi. 22), and quiet, and peaceable; *for they of Ham had dwelt there of old.*" The locality here called Gedor presents no small difficulty: for the only direction in which the Simeonites could possibly enlarge their borders was the tract of country which lay to their south; and no place of that name is elsewhere mentioned in connection with any part of this region. The only Gedor at all answering to the description in Chronicles is the district el-Jeidûr, lying south of Damascus and east of Mount Hermon,² which is more familiar to us under its Latin form *Ituræa*.³ In default of any better solution of the mystery, Mr. Forster does not hesitate to send these Simeonitish adventurers, dwelling in the far south of the kingdom of Judah, on a Quixotic expedition to that remote trans-jordanic region!⁴ Dr. Robinson can only suggest a pos-

¹ Josh. xv. 3, 21—32; xix. 1—8.

² Burckhardt, *Syria*, p. 286.

³ Luke iii. 1. Cf. Gen. xxv. 15 (Jetur).

⁴ *Hist. Geog. Arab.* i. pp. 20, 21.

sible reference to the Gedor of the mountains of Judah, still APPENDIX. called Jedûr, and little more than twelve miles from Jerusalem! With characteristic caution, however, he admits that there is a doubt on the subject.¹

We submit that every difficulty is removed by the alteration of a single letter of the Hebrew; and for this we are not without good authority. In the first place, there is the notorious fact that the letters נ and נ, from their great similarity, have frequently been confounded with each other by the Hebrew copyists. Thus, in 2 Sam. viii. 13, David is represented as smiting the *Syrians*; whereas, in 1 Chron. xviii. 12, the same event is referred to in connection with the *Edomites*. The latter reading (אדם), which from the context is evidently the correct one, enables us to rectify the former (נָרְם), while it shows us how easily such mistakes may arise. Again, in 2 Kings xvi. 6, the *Syrians* (ארומים) are said to have "come to Elath (on the Red Sea), and dwelt there unto this day"; a most improbable circumstance. Fortunately the Keri and an immense number of MSS. have אֲדוֹמִים (*Edomites*), a reading which is confirmed by the Septuagint and Vulgate.

But in addition to the argument arising from this constant liability to confound the two letters, we have reason to believe that such is actually the case in the passage before us. The Septuagint must have had גָּרָר and not גָּדָר in the Hebrew text from which they translated, for they here read Γέραρα. Now, as they could have had no possible motive in this instance for not reproducing the Hebrew original, we think we are fairly warranted in reading "Gerar" instead of "Gedor." And thus the whole passage will be found to constitute an admirable epitome of the foregoing remarks on the country of Gerar and its former inhabitants, while it furnishes the only probable explanation of the concluding clause: "for they of Ham (viz., the Mizraimite Philistines or Cherethites from Caphtor) had dwelt there of old."

¹ *Bib. Res.* ii. p. 338.

APPENDIX. We have only to add, that during the protracted sojourn of Israel in Egypt, important changes were taking place in the country they were destined to possess. The Philistines, partly, it may be, tempted by the weakness or degeneracy of the Canaanites, partly impelled forward by the growing power of the Amalekites,¹ migrated to the sea-coast; whereupon Amalek succeeded them in the occupation of the Negeb.

Num. xiii. 29.

Deut. ii. 9—12, 20—23. This was curiously paralleled at a later age in this same region in the case of the Edomites and Nabathæans. A similar but still more recent occurrence, beyond the Jordan, is related by Burckhardt, and strikingly illustrates, not only our present subject, but also the manner in which the aboriginal tribes Emim, Zamzummim, Horim, and Avim were supplanted by the Moabites, Ammonites, Edomites, and Philistines respectively: “The chief tribe in this province (the Belka), for many years, was the Adwân, but they are now reduced to the lowest condition by their inveterate enemies the Beni-Zakher. The latter, whose abode had for a long space of time been on the Haj road, near Oella, were obliged by the increasing power of the Wahaby, to retire towards the north. They approached the Belka, and obtained from the Adwân, who were then in possession of the excellent pastureage of this country, permission to feed their cattle here, on paying a small annual tribute. They soon proved, however, to be dangerous neighbours; having detached the greater part of the other tribes of the Belka from their alliance with the Adwân, they have finally succeeded in driving the latter across the Zerka” (Burckhardt, *Syria*, p. 368).

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ERRATA, &c.

Page 9, line 2, *for* translators *read* translators'.

“ 25, „ 8, *for* Durrell *read* Durell.

“ 28, „ 12, *for* Ahmed *read* Beit-Hanîna.

“ 54, „ 23, *for* Callirrhoe *read* Callirroë.

“ 56, „ 29, *for* Bib. Res. p. 6 *read* Bib. Res. iii. 6.

“ 84, „ 5, *for* ascendancy *read* ascendency.

“ 100, „ 26, *for* ascendancy *read* ascendency.

“ 105, „ 30, *for* Pt. II. Sect. vii. *read* Pt. III. Sect. vii. p. 84.

“ 150, „ 22. Gideon's other name, Jerubbaal, is changed into Jerubbesheth (Comp. Judg. vi. 32 with 2 Sam. xi. 21).

„ 153, „ 20. What additional significance is thus given to the name of Zorah, now Sura'h, a town in the Shephelah, not far from Ekrón (Josh. xv. 33)—“*Hornet's town*.”

„ 167, „ 23. Perhaps it is better to consider Kureiyeh as cognate with קָרֵיָה = קָרֵיָה (See Gesen.). Wady el-Kureiyeh will then signify the “Valley of the *Fortress*,” and at once suggests that the place of which we are in search is somewhere in this wady; probably where the Khurâizeh falls into it.

„ 196, „ 6, *after* desert *insert* and the lower Ghôr (or 'Arabah).

„ 196, „ 9, *for* Ghôr *read* upper Ghôr.

„ 202, „ 16, *for* the Khulasah, marks *read* Khulasah), mark.

„ 221, „ 25, *for* hôphas *read* hôphak.

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